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THE POLITICAL CULTURE
OF
ANTI-SMOKING GROUPS:
A PILOT STUDY

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

THE POLITICAL CULTURE OF ANTI-SMOKING GROUPS: A PILOT STUDY

Anti-smoking has to be seen, not as a movement within our society, but as a way of understanding what our society is....and where it is going. The behavior generated by the anti-smoking movement and many of the demands made from within it are not explicable simply in terms of the characteristics of the various groups involved. What is going on makes sense only in terms of the processes by which one kind of group becomes transformed into another and by the cross-cutting processes that cause individuals to move into and out of such ever-changing groups.

In our work, we divide anti-smoking groups into sects and castes. Once one knows the kind of group with whom one is dealing, our hypothesis is, one can devise more appropriate strategies. The weakness of sects, it turns out, is in their leaders, so the strategy is to separate them from their followers. The strength of castes is exactly in their leadership, so they must be persuaded to lead in more desirable directions. To understand why and how this might be done, it is necessary to have theories as well as hunches.

Organization

Within the various categories there seems to be a British equivalent for each American organization. Is this because groups are called into existence by the prior requirements of governmental and quasi-governmental bureaucracy? But there simply is nothing in the anti-smoking field in Britain to compare with the American urge to join, to belong, to take sides....to segregate. Why should this be so?

We can reject the hypothesis that it will happen in Britain soon. There was no time lag between the Surgeon General's reports and those of

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the Royal College of Physicians. There was no time lag between parliamentary debates on this topic in the two countries and the curves of increasing governmental concern and legislative action are fairly well-matched. So we should look to social contextual differences for an explanation.

The first and most obvious difference is that Britain, with its National Health Service, has a much more socialized medical and general health care system than does the United States. A very reasonable hypothesis would be that the prior existence of this governmental structure has pre-empted the formation of anti-smoking groups. This —————→ hypothesis receives support from at least two directions. One, the anti-smoking organizations that do exist are very much the product of governmental prescriptions being handed down to the people, rather than constituting a developmental stage in a grassroots demand for government to move into, and act, in an area where previously it had not intervened. Two, in those areas in Britain that are not subject to such a high level of socialization--such as environmental issues--there are grassroots movements of concerned individuals and a proliferation of highly joinable anti-groups for them to join.

This, if true, is still not a very deep explanation. It does not tell us why British medicine should come to be so socialized and American medicine should remain so privatised. The hypothesis that would take care of this deep level and the superficial level would be that America

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is a sectist society while Britain is a caste-ist (or collectivised or bureaucratised) society. This may seem to be a rather nonsensical contrast. After all, what could be more collectivised than a sect? And, surely, the contrast with 'collectivised' is 'individualised'? Quite so, both American and British anti-groups are collectivised; the contrast is between two different types of collectivity: sects and castes.

It is important to maintain a distinction between, on the one hand, life sects and life castes (collectivities that are relevant for every area of the lives of the individuals who compose them) and, on the other hand, groupings that are relevant for only a part of the individual member's life. To maintain this distinction, between the total commitment of the members of a life sect or a life caste from the tendency or bias of the anti-smoker, we choose the terms sectist and caste-ist.

A sect erects a wall of virtue between itself and the nasty outside world from which it wishes to set itself apart. The members collectively reject the outside world--they do not negotiate any sort of relationship with it. The result is that, though the collectivity may exercise almost total control over its members, it can do nothing to the rest of the society.

A caste separates itself off, not with a wall of virtue, but by means of clearly defined distinctions between it and those other groupings that exist outside it. The result, as each caste defines itself by its distinction from (yet clearly-specified inter-relation with) other castes, is a complex hierarchical framework of status distinctions, prescriptions, restrictive practices, correct channels and proper procedures. The

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members of a caste, therefore, do not reject the outside world: they collectively take up a clearly specified position within it. A caste, as a result, can come to exercise a high level of control over its own members and over those outside its boundary. A sect is an egalitarian and externally impotent collectivity. A caste is a status-conscious and externally potent collectivity.

What seems to be happening in America is a shift from sectism to caste-ism. What energy source provides the fuel for this process? The energy source is government and the fuel is government money and regulatory legislation.

The problem of separate aims

Anti-smoking groups can pursue very different aims: they can campaign for the recognition and enforcement of non-smokers' rights or they can strive to reduce the level of smoking. If the level of smoking is reduced then (assuming their interpretation of the effects is correct) \longrightarrow \longleftarrow lives will be saved and, the more that level is reduced, the more lives will be saved. But the enforcement of non-smokers' "rights" need have no effect on the number of deaths caused by smoking.

Both of these strategies are, we think, sect strategies. They emphasize a single anti-smoking issue. But ASH (and the HEC) for instance emphasize both issues and their strategy is based on the assumption that they are not separable issues but are simply two aspects of some whole.

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The basis for this assumption is the separation of non-smokers and smokers into social types: the former responsible risk-shunning and accident-avoiding; the latter irresponsible, risk-taking and accident prone. Non-smokers are seen as socially whole (and wholesome); smokers are seen as socially incomplete (and unwholesome). So the two issues become one and the same by introducing the idea of the social nastiness of the smoker. We arrive at that ancient ideal in which nature provides an undistorting mirror for society: 'Good is beautiful and bad is ugly'.

If ASH/HEC/DHSS etc. are coalescing into a caste system, we should expect social contexts with strong group and a high level of prescription, we should expect manipulative collectivist strategies, and we should expect these strategies to be justified by a 'mirror' cosmology within which nature and society are clearly separated yet within which the complex arrangement of the one is isomorphous with the complex arrangement of the other. So we should expect a great deal of boundary erection and status differentiation.

Now, just a decade after the gays came out of the closet, anti-smokers speak openly of driving smokers into the closet. Anti-smoking is just about the only kind of discrimination that is still legal: if you can't segregate blacks, or women, or Jews, or queers anymore, then at least you can segregate smokers.

Anti-smoking can only emphasize the nastiness of smokers: it cannot provide any gradations of nastiness that would distinguish between middle-class smokers and lower-class smokers. It would seem, on the face of it, to provide an ideal vehicle for sect formation but not for caste formation.

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The absolutely wonderful thing about smoking is that these seemingly insuperable problems simply do not arise. It turns out, mirabile dictu, that those who give up smoking (and are saved) are middle-class and that those who persist with it (and are damned) belong increasingly to the lower orders. Just as nature is divided into the higher animals and the lower animals, so society is divided into non-smokers and smokers. Already the chances that a non-smoker is middle-class and a smoker is working-class are high and, as the anti-smoking campaign gathers momentum, so they become even higher. When some people are busy doing good for other people, public policy is being infused with more than a little private enterprise.

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Entrepreneurs and the Absolutes/Negotiables Frontier

Entrepreneurs, usually, are engaged in the business of converting 'absolutes' into 'negotiables' (selling their grandmothers, as they say) and we are tempted to believe that such a direction of change is a defining characteristic of the entrepreneur. —————→
←———— Government intervention (for instance, in smoking behavior, road safety, risk assessment and hazard management) creates great opportunities for individuals to devise the techniques--the ways and means--for the reverse process: converting negotiables into absolutes. The entrepreneur, therefore, has to be re-defined as a creative individual engaged in the business of converting either absolutes into negotiables or negotiables into absolutes. In the first case he is strengthening individualism; in the second case he is strengthening collectivism. Professionals and entrepreneurs are usually seen as diametrically opposed creatures but here we can see entrepreneurs engaged in the process of creating professions that previously did not exist (risk managers, for instance, or community health officers).

This is the most surprising and interesting avenue of all. Not only does the anti-smoking movement seem to be made up of very different kinds of groups but individualism--the very antithesis of collectivism--too seems to play a vital part: it looks as though these divergent collectivities are actually held together by entrepreneurial glue.

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Anti-Smoking in America

In Britain, the report that started it all was produced by the Royal College of Physicians--a professional body quite separate from government. In the United States, the equivalent report was produced by the Surgeon General: that is, government decided that there should be a report and, taking the initiative, called together an advisory committee from various professional health and charitable organizations--The American Public Health Association, the American Cancer Society, the American Heart Association, and the American Lung Association. Thus it would seem that in Britain there is an extra professional tier in the organization and that this tier operates separate from, and above and beyond, the legitimate scope of government. It is the presence of this extra tier, and of the self-regulatory processes that it adopts in order to maintain its presence, that leads us to characterize the British arrangement as mature caste-ism. The presence of this mature caste-ism, we would argue, largely pre-empted the formation of groups focused around the demand for the recognition of non-smokers' rights. If this is so, then the proliferation of such groupings in America is characteristic of sectism.

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Castes are successful in tapping power, and they succeed by operating collectively: individuals effacing themselves for the benefit of the whole. To remain as a caste they have to maintain themselves on this peak of power and they do this by following a collectivist manipulative strategy. Civil servants, for instance, remain anonymous to the outside world. If an individual civil servant makes a mistake then this anonymity provides him with some measure of protection: the blame is thinly and diffusely spread throughout the whole and it is unlikely that his particular head will roll in retribution. By the same token, it is unlikely that if he does something quite remarkable and outstanding he will reap much in the way of personal reward. Being a sensible fellow, he will soon realize and avoid taking the sort of risks and exercising the sort of personal initiative that are usually the preconditions for such achievements. In this way, the collectivist manipulative strategy results in the discouragement of both individual under-achievement and over-achievement. What it encourages is clarity and the elimination of ambiguity: the exact matching of words and deeds. The Chinese, more than two thousand years ago, recognized this principle and, matching words perfectly to the deeds that such a strategy enjoined, called it cheng ming: the Rectification of Names.

Most bureaucracies, quite effortlessly and without prompting, find their own way to the Rectification of Names. The World Health Organization, for instance, with its Expert Committee, its six distinct levels of membership, its Chairman unique in not being the representative of a national anti-smoking organization, and its fine distinctions between Misterys and Doctors, has probably never (collectively) heard of cheng ming but it is (collective) adept in it nevertheless.

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Such adepts would recoil in horror from so unrectified an organization as the Group Against Smokers' Pollution.

GASP is a people program, a grass-roots movement for the right to breathe air that is free from tobacco smoke. GASP is an environmental action group, specifically concerned with the problem of indoor pollution. GASP members include non-smokers, former smokers and people of all ages and walks of life, united for the common cause of increasing the breathing space available to everyone.*

Clearly, GASP is a completely different animal but what kind of animal is it? It is a collectivity and it is united around a single simple aim: 'The right to breathe air that is free from tobacco smoke'. There are no internal divisions and fine status distinctions here. Once inside, all is egalitarianism, adhocracy and moral fervor. So, if the collectivist manipulative strategy produces the Rectification of Names, what kind of strategy gives rise to all the grass-roots greenery of GASP? Unlike castes, sects have no access to power. They languish in a trough of impotence maintaining themselves by a shared opposition to, and rejection of, what lies outside their boundaries. Survival, not manipulation, is the name of their game and the strategy they employ is the collectivist survival strategy. The slogan of the British Ecology Party, the Green Party, expresses this strategy perfectly: JOIN TOGETHER TO MAKE A FUTURE. Survival--just a future, the only one possible--is what they are after.

*The Ventilator (GASP Newsletter) Vol. IV, No. 1, Spring 1975.

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Clearly, there is a linkage, if not of personnel certainly of ideas, between an anti-smoking organization such as GASP and some parts of the Environmental Movement. The small-is-beautiful grass-roots communality is reflected in a shared rhetoric. Those key words 'environment' and 'pollution' crop up again and again, and it is a very simple concept of pollution that is invoked; it is the penetration by a powerful outside 'them' of just one single boundary--that enclosing the soft and vulnerable 'us'--a simple wall of virtue with smokers on the outside and non-smokers on the inside.

But, at the same time, the whole point of this approach in terms of sect and caste is to avoid having to cut such monolithic (and really rather meaningless) chunks out of social reality. Linkages in terms of ideas, and of the various strategies that are associated with those ideas,

→ cut
right across such dubious entities as 'The Environmental Movement' and 'The Anti-Smoking Movement'. The Friends of the Earth is to the former what GASP is to the latter, and they have much more in common with each other (a strategy, an ideology, a rationality...a social style) than they have with the caste-ist poles of their own 'movements'. Here at these extremes there is, again, a congruence of strategy, ideology, rationality and style; the Rectification of Names unites the Environmental Protection Agency and the Conservation Foundation, on the one hand, with the NIOSH, OSH and WHO, on the other. Each, as well, is only too anxious to keep at arm's length those awful sects within their movements with their lack of internal differentiation, their discordancy, their overlapping and unharmonious structures.

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The members of a sect and the members of a caste, faced with exactly the same sort of situation, are likely to do completely different things, the reason being that the former are committed to a collectivist survival strategy and the latter to a collectivist manipulative strategy. Given their very different initial orientations--sects engaging in hit-and-run operations, castes on a peak of power--adherence to such markedly different strategies is only to be expected. Castes stick around to help run things; sects hit hard and then run away so they won't be contaminated when what they want is (inevitably) compromised. _____→

←- _____→ So we can expect to differentiate sects and castes simply by looking at how they behave: the members of sects will do one thing and the members of castes will do another, and they do their different things for very sound reasons. It is not that one lot has got it right and the other lot is stupid; each weighs up its situation, assesses the options open to it, evaluates them against its appropriate strategy, and then selects what seems to it to be the best buy. At least, that is the sort of process that, granting them the dignity of rationality, we assume must be going on. But in fact they usually do not go through all this palaver. Without any of these seemingly essential stages, they just do it: they don't do just anything--they do, straight off, what they would have done had they gone through all the procedure first. It is as if they have some automatic pilot which, provided they don't over-ride it, will do it all for them. The automatic pilot is cosmology--their set of shared beliefs about how the world is and of man's place within it--and the on/off switch is labelled 'credible' and 'incredible'.

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CASTES

Dominant Criterion

Multi-issue aim.

Secondary Criteria

1. Membership: quality
2. Internal organization: Differentiated and hierarchical
3. Relation to outside: Negotiated and clearly-specified relationships
4. Power: Tapped (collectively)
5. Stability: Follows collectivist manipulative strategy that tends to maintain its position on 'peak of power'. Mature castes inherently stable.
5. Leadership: Many different levels, each highly specialized, provide clear multi-stepped career structures. Leaders tend to be mobile within these structures.

SECTS

Single issue aim.

- Quantity
- Homogeneous and egalitarian
- Opposition and rejection (unnegotiated)
- Untapped
- Follows collectivist survival strategy consistent with its situation; adopts hit-and-run tactics
- Cannot mature and is inherently unstable; cannot abide compromise
- Problematical--leaders contradict egalitarian ideal. Maintain themselves by maintaining the wall of virtue--by constantly reaffirming group values, attacking those on the outside, spotting outsiders who have crept in undetected. No career structure so leaders are immobile.

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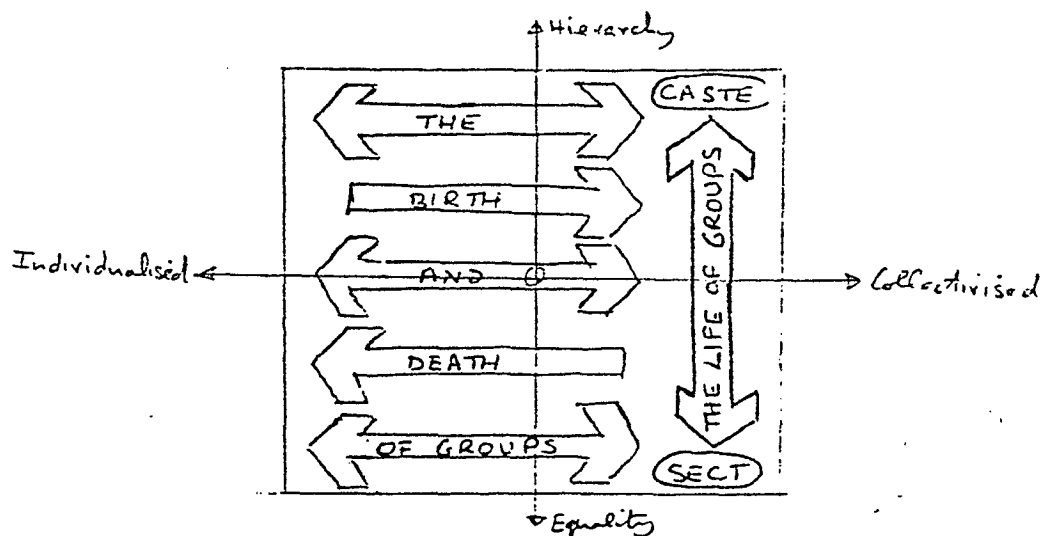
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| 7. Order: The basis of morality, hence rejection of disorderly bodies, e.g. sects. Formal and elaborate structures. High level of prescription and elaborate rules. | Rejection of outside the basis of morality. Inside the wall of virtue is unstructured and informal. No prescription or rules except those that emphasize boundary between inside and outside. |
| 8. Commitment: Expressed in ritual and in adherence to correct procedures and proper channels. | Expressed in collective moral fervor, adhococracy, and spontaneous affirmations of shared opposition to the enemy outside. |
| 9. Scope: National or global. If there are local chapters, organization remains strongly centralized. | Tends to be local. If there is a central headquarters this creates problems with hierarchy and renders the organization unstable. |
| 10. Recruitment: Not particularly joinable. Operates by invitation to those who have taken the trouble to make themselves acceptable. | Joinable. Open to all who clearly subscribe to the single aim and who reject the outside world. |
| 11. Concern: May well be for the welfare of all (though all may not accept that this is so). | Restricted to a minority--those inside the wall of virtue. |

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Some aspects of sect

GASP and ASH are by far the largest of the anti-smoking organizations that fall into the sect category, and it is because they are so large that they are prone to so many of those unstabilizing effects for which sects are renowned. Both have charismatic leaders, localized chapters and national headquarters, and a record of very rapid growth. Given these characteristics, the really interesting thing about them is not the way in which they are organized but the fact that they exist at all.

It looks as if the leaders and staff are having to look two ways at once: parleying with the castes in Washington all the while keeping in with their local followers by attacking the common enemy outside the walls (both produce frequent newsletters full of such sectist exhortations to the faithful). Inevitably, the strain begins to tell and the cracks begin to appear.



Anti-smoking groups could be born in two ways: by individuals transferring their allegiance from an existing group, or by the influx of individuals who previously were not members of any group.

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← Are the GASPers and the Environmental Improvement Associates refugees from the Environmental Movement and Anti-Vietnam War campaigners looking for a new cause? Are the staff of OSH and the members of the WHO Expert Committee empire-building bureaucrats and place-serving professionals? Or are they hitherto live-and-let-live characters who have at last felt that things have gone far enough and that the time has come to cry 'halt'? Are they, in their different ways, overcoming their innate reticence and finally standing up to be counted? Or are they careerists and opportunists--entrepreneurs who know a good thing when they see one and are set on extracting as much personal advantage (not necessarily financial advantage) from shifting smoking from social acceptability to something 'permissible only between consenting adults in private'? The latter is more likely. For if it were the former, they would be concerned with stopping people from smoking, not sabotaging the social structure.

Cosmology

For War on Want, big is ugly and big is bad. Big, dehumanizing....unnatural: 'chemicals', 'machines'...'agribusiness'. What are they doing to us? The unifying appeal here is not that the villains are giving us cancer, it is that they are giving us cigarettes that are not what they appear to be: they may look like 'fine Virginia tobacco' but really they're offal. This is the fear of witchcraft--of some destructive outside force disguising itself and getting inside. In fact, nature is so good and ersatz so bad that the tobacco companies are even castigated for taking out of the tobacco the naturally occurring carcinogens. Not surprisingly, War on Want has little time for science.

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War on Want's deeply pessimistic —————> view of things may be how it really is. But the rightness and wrongness of the contradictory arguments is not what we are interested in here. What is of interest is, not which argument is right and which argument is wrong, but which one is credible and which one is incredible--and people in differing social contexts grant credibility to different 'truths'. The way to understand what is going on is not to ask 'which version is right?' but 'which version would people like to be right?'.

War on Want does not fabricate evidence but it does display a certain bias in the selection and interpretation of its data. This means that, at the sectist end of the movement, counter-evidence does not get much of a look in. Though it may look as if sects too are using science, what they are really using is scientism.

It would be wrong to speak of the anti-smoking castes as 'using' science. 'Use' implies some lack of respect, and respect is what castes are all about. Science--normal science--is not 'used' by castes, it is an end in itself. Normal science gets 'used' by entrepreneurs--by the tobacco companies. They hire scientists to come up with safer cigarettes, with tobacco substitutes, and (be it said) with counter-evidence to that amassed by their fellows in the anti-smoking castes. While many might regard this as perfectly acceptable and indeed desirable, such utilization of science by business, especially big business, is viewed with jaundiced eyes by those who are guided by the principle that small is beautiful. To their way of seeing things the tobacco companies are not using science: they are abusing it.

These varieties of credible knowledge are clearly distinct from one another and each of them is absolutely central to one of the horizontal strands of ideas that social contexts inevitably generate. If the individuals in these different contexts never impinged upon one another then that would be the end of it: each context would form its own society,

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stabilized by its own cosmology, and securely attached to its credible system of knowledge. But this is not the case here. Individuals in these different contexts are all members of a single society and, not only do they constantly impinge on one another, the very fact that they find themselves in one context rather than another is largely the result of that impingement. They drive one another into their different corners, and this whole dynamical system of contexts and cosmologies is inherently fluid. 'Movements' are those displays of fluidity that happen to be pronounced enough for us to notice them: great swirling shifts of individuals out of certain contexts and into others.

The anti-smoking movement, for the most part, swirls around between caste-ism and sectism. There is a generalized flow from left to right-- from individualism towards collectivism. But, at the same time, these two collectivist tendencies are knitted together into a coherent recognizable 'movement' by the individualistic enterprise of the sect leaders.

What, apart from rather unlikely names, have Clara Gouin, Donna Shimp, and George Banzhaf III got in common? They are all founder-leaders of single-issue anti-smoking groups. Sects are strongly committed to egalitarian principles and do not like any status distinctions within their ranks, and to pick out one individual and say 'He is the center' is to make one hell of a status distinction. How to claim, and gain acceptance for, centrality is a great problem in any sect. Many have collapsed or split because such claims could not be credibly advanced or adequately sustained. GASP, EIA, and ASH have all managed to overcome their initial difficulties: they have clearly defined and unanimously accepted leaders.

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Any individual, who, by strength of personality, persuasive powers, personal commitment and single-minded dedication, can summon up around his cause a social group that simply was not there before has got charisma. Thus the founder of a group, by virtue of the fact that it exists and he founded it, is bound to have the first requirement for acceptance as the center of his otherwise unstructured group. What is more, he, and he alone, founded the group and so he, and he alone, has valid and acceptable claim to that position. So founder-leadership is probably the best way there is of stabilizing the early life of a new sect.

A complex organization creates within itself at key points leadership positions which then have to be filled. A position has an existence of its own quite separable from the individual who fills it. But an egalitarian and internally undifferentiated group cannot generate lasting positions like this. The result is that a sect and its leader become locked into a dynamic immobility: the leader has to run like mad just to stay in the same place.

Why become a sect leader?

Of course, Clara Gouin is not just the leader of GASP: she has a job as well. George Banzhaf likewise, has his teaching post at George Washington University and Donna Shimp goes to work as best she can in her smoke-filled workplace. That is, all three of these leaders for some of their time occupy positions that do not disappear when they temporarily vacate them. Within these complex organizations they are, or at least can be, mobile. But for that part of the day when they are not at their

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desks but at the center of their sects they are totally immobile. With their days divided between castes and sects--between mobility and immobility--they look likely candidates for schizophrenia, so perhaps they operate some sort of drive for consonance that lessens the conflicts and contradictions within their daily rounds? Perhaps they were predisposed towards sectism because they each found themselves stuck in one place within a system that is supposed to offer mobility? We know little about the sort of jobs that Clara Gouin and Donna Shimp work at but George Banzhaf, certainly, has taught law at the same university for many years now. It is worth bearing in mind the possibility that sect leadership, which of its very nature is immobile, may be a logical response for those ambitious individuals who find themselves held immobile within complex organizations that supposedly offer mobility to the able. Making a virtue of necessity, they transform a caste-ist failure into a sectist triumph. Immobility may be a sign of failure in a complex organization but it is a sign of success in a simple one. Just switch your collectivist goal and caste failure can be used to fuel sect success: immobility becomes a valuable asset.

Final resting place and springboard: Followers and leaders

Success into failure, reverse into advance, problem into opportunity, oppression into liberation....pig's ear into silk purse: this is the very stuff that entrepreneurs are made of. Change the rules and, all of a sudden, loser takes all. The leaders of sects are, it seems, not quite the same as their followers. The latter band together collectively to resist pressures against which individually they feel themselves powerless:

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they are interested in survival. But sect leadership, though it does offer survival, offers opportunity as well. The followers, once they are safely inside their wall of virtue, feel they have reached the Promised Land, but the leader knows that for him it is just a convenient resting place on the way to a much more ambitious destination. The dynamic immobility that keeps a sect and its leader together may not last indefinitely. The followers want to stay where they are--in the trough of impotence--but the leader may aspire to more power than is available to him down there in the valley.

If he sets out to climb those slopes then he and his sect must surely part company. But the crucial difference between sectism, which is what these sects strictly speaking are, and life sects, which provide our anthropological model, is that in the latter case the departure of the leader will be immediately apparent to his followers--they are committed twenty-four hours a day to involvement in a face-to-face community--while in the former the leader is able to con his followers into believing that he is still down there in the valley. Sectists devote only part of their resources--energy, time, and money--to their sect and they can get up to all sorts of things with what is left. Even more useful to the leader is the fact that his followers are not in face-to-face contact with him--they are hundreds of miles away kept in contact only through the media. Their's is a mail-order communality. Since the leaders have impressive media skills, they are able to use this temporal and spatial slippage to convince their followers that they are with them in the valley and to convince those with whom they negotiate their progress

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up the slope that their followers are right behind them. Such are the wonders of modern communication: they enable the media-skilled leader to be in two places at the same time!

An individual who shifts his allegiance from sectism to caste-ism has to do two things at once: he has to disengage himself from those who wish to hold him back (his fellow sect members) and he has to make himself acceptable to those whom he wishes to join (the caste members). Clearly, Banzhaf has not been behaving as a true sect member should--he has been hobnobbing with people outside his wall of virtue--establishing contacts and offering in return the benefits of his professional expertise and specialist experience. What is more, he is successful--his offer is accepted, Donna Shimp wins her court case, and the outside world takes note. Banzhaf is clearly beginning to tap power.

But look what happened to him two years earlier on his first attempt to enter, and remain within, the caste-ist inner sanctum. He had been invited to attend a meeting of NICSH to receive a special award in recognition of his efforts in the anti-smoking struggle. This symbolic act of prize-giving is typically caste-ist and enables NICSH to make friends with Banzhaf while keeping him at a comfortable distance. He is an honored guest at the meeting but that does not entitle him to vote nor does it entitle him to attend future meetings. But Banzhaf, brash fellow that he is, chose to ignore (or perhaps was unaware of) these subtle conventions and used the occasion to press on NICSH his ideas for surveying members of congress and their challengers on their attitudes to smoking and health. Caught off balance, the NICSH voted unanimously in favor of their guest's unexpected proposal. But only a week after the meeting, the

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American Cancer Society--the biggest single contributor to NICSH funds--set about erasing from the record this illegitimate (unrectified) proposal by a jumped-up non-caste member.

Clearly, Banzhaf wants powers and equally clearly he is prepared to make contacts outside his group and to act in a professional and elitist, rather than a amateur and egalitarian, way. But, equally clearly, he does not like the idea of compromise and still hopes to make it all the way to the peak with his single-issue demands intact. Banzhaf will have to make himself more acceptable; he will have to modify his demands until they are of a form that will not cause too much discomfort to the caste members; he will have to define his area of concern (legal aspects of smoking and health, presumably) more carefully and negotiate boundary agreements with those caste members whose territories border on his.

But there is another possibility. He may be able to by-pass the caste system and gain direct access to the ear of government. After all, he is claiming in his sectist rhetoric to speak for the people and, if government is increasingly in favor of such direct communion, it may prefer to listen to him rather than to the castes. Instead of an indirect link in which the people trust (and in consequence defer to) the castes and the castes then speak to government, the castes are elbowed out of the way, and government bends down to listen to all them grassroots a-growin. This is a highly tentative hypothesis yet it does have a number of things going for it. First, it would account for some of the profound differences between anti-smoking in the United States and Britain. Second, it suggests a way of joining this anthropological approach to the more familiar analyses of political science.

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The idea of a populace deferring to a caste that then is listened to by government is intuitively attractive if one is trying to understand what is happening in Britain. There the castes are clearly separate from government. The Royal College of Physicians has a long, proud and independent history; it spoke to Disraeli's government, it speaks to today's government and it is confident that it will be speaking to governments many years hence. In measured tones, quite free of fear or favor and resonant with an impersonal and almost timeless authority, it gives its pronouncement on what the health and smoking predicament of the British people is, and it indicates quite clearly the direction in which they should move in order that their welfare may be increased. And they are listened to. The general public are disposed to believe what their doctors tell them: certainly they will give credence to the Royal College of Physicians rather than to the tobacco companies. What is more, government listens to them most respectfully. One only need read the debate in the House of Lords on the Royal College of Physicians' report to sense the tremendous solidity of this mature caste.

But in America this tripartite distinction between populace, caste, and government is not so easily made. Caste and government are all mixed up with one another: NICSH (the caste) is largely made up of federal agencies (government). The castes, unlike those in Britain, do not really have an existence separate from and over and above that of government. Denied that detachment, American castes all too often elicit from the populace not deference (the just reward of a mature caste) but truculence (the radical ideal toppling an immature caste). Instead of remaining on

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their remote and austere peak of power, they slide down the slope in the hope of gaining popular support; and, not too far down that slope, who do they meet? Banzhaf!

Is it entirely fanciful to link this anthropological characterization of a profound difference between British and American society with that made by a political scientist?

In American history the Radical, although the founder of party, is also its most persistent critic. Forever disillusioned with the actual tones in which party speaks, he seeks to eliminate interference by bosses, corruption, and special interests and to tune in the authentic voice of the people by regulating party processes, by setting up a direct primary, by instituting the initiative and referendum. The strength of the Radical ideal in America is one major reason for the weakness of our parties. In Britain, while the Radical ideal has not had so great an influence, it has also been inadequate as a moral foundation for party government. Only in Collectivist thought do we find the necessary sanctions.*

Political scientists, of course, are interested in power and therefore tend to focus upon the peaks of power in the anthropological picture and to ignore the troughs of impotence. Beer's analysis, in consequence, runs back and forth between the peaks of power. The collectivism that he discerns in British society is of the caste-ist variety and the individualism

*S. H. Beer, Modern British Politics, Faber paperback edition, 1965, p. 43.

that he identifies with the radical ideal is of the entrepreneurial variety. But, down there in the misty valleys, some other things are happening. America may not be very collectivist in the caste-ist sense but it has certainly moved strongly towards collectivism in the sectist sense. Here again, are the radical purifying forces that he describes: "to eliminate interference by bosses, corruption, and special interests and to tune in the authentic voice of the people": the sort of forces an anthropologist would expect to find being unleashed^h in individualist social contexts? No. They are the purest expressions of unreconstructed sectism: the uncompromising demands of those sect leaders who have managed to climb up the power slope with their charisma still unroutinized.

Yet these sect leaders, though their demands are made in such uncompromisingly sectist terms, exhibit many of the characteristics of entrepreneurs, that is, of individualists. If this is so then Beer is still right. Since there are many more successful sect leaders in the United States than there are in Britain, the United States must be more individualized. That is a valid picture if you look at those who are involved with power, but what about all those sect members in whose name the leaders make their sectist demands and on whose backs they ride? All those Washington-based leaders are really entrepreneurial wolves in sectist sheep's clothing. For such a deception to be effective, there

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have to be plenty of sheep; for every leader, there must be some followers. So, if we find there are more sect leaders around, then there must be even more of their followers around. This means that, even though the leaders are indeed individualists, an increase in their numbers means an overall shift within the population away from individualism towards collectivism.

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Testing Cultural TheoryWith Content Analysis

Chapter II of the report on the content analysis provides a summary of the results--it tells us what has been found to be in there. This summary is contained within the various tables and the text attempts to guide the reader through these tables. This, of course, is what the content analysis is supposed to do and it is what we said we would do,

← So the summary tells us 'what'; it does not tell us 'why'. 'Why', as has been pointed out, is the function not of content analysis but of theory.

The theory has been developed in the other part of the research--the organizational analysis. Indeed the organizational analysis, though it is in there, has been made subservient to the theory. The theory that has been used as an organizing basis for this analysis has a double novelty: the anthropological approach is not commonly applied to this sort of problem nor is this particular approach common currency, yet, within anthropology. So there has been a division of labor: the content analysis has been purged of theory in order that the 'what' may come out in all its unbiased purity, and the theory has been developed only in relation to the organizational analysis.

Complex and unfamiliar though this theory may be, it revolves around one simple hypothesis: the —————→ process by which two kinds of collectivist tendencies, caste-ism and sectism may be transformed one into the other. Sects and castes should separate out according to whether they have simple single-issue aims or complex multi-issue aims. This they do, and a multiplicity of secondary criteria serve to sharpen rather than blur this primary distinction (see Chapter II: Anti-Smoking and

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the Sanskritization of America). This analysis is sorely in need of some sort of rigorous testing. The ~~whole purpose of~~ the content analysis is } *That wasn't what the client thought!*
~~that it should enable~~ us to do this. By coding the content inductively, and considering the consequences of the cultural theory deductively, we can see whether anti-smoking groups present themselves to their members as the theory predicts.

Testing the Theory: A Few Examples

The first unusual prediction from the theory is that the various anti-groups should fall into two very different varieties--castes and sects--and all the other predictions follow from the assumption that this is so. This means that all that part of the content analysis in which the results for all the different groups are lumped together--those tables that tell us what all the groups do--can be of little assistance in testing this theory (though, of course, it has all sorts of other uses such as testing other rival theories). So we are only interested here in those tables where the results are broken down group by group.

1. The separation of castes and sects. Looking to the content analysis, we find (in Table 1) —————> this distinction reflected in about the crudest most basic measure it is possible to apply to it: the number of terms per unit. The literature of the caste-ist groups (ACS, AHA, ALA, and NICSH) all have three or more terms per unit while the two sectist organizations (ASH and GASP) each have only 1.8 terms per unit. This clear separation indicates that there is a fundamental difference in their modes of discourse: the castes tend to say several

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things at once, the sects one thing at a time. So, not only is the predicted separation there, it also seems to fit the socio-linguist's distinction between the elaborated code and the restricted code--a distinction that has been shown to be underpinned by differences in the level of prescription imposed upon an individual by his social context.*

2. The lack of justification. One prediction, which we have mentioned several times, is that the cosmologies-- the various contradictory versions of how the world is and of man's place in it-- act like an automatic pilot as far as justifications are concerned. In a particular social context a particular cosmology becomes credible and, since it furnishes an individual with his convictions about what is natural (and what is unnatural), his justifications are taken care of: to insist that the world is other than the way he and his fellows see it would be to fly in the face of nature. So the theory predicts that we should not be surprised to find that in all the anti-smoking debate there is very little justification.

This is one test that can be applied right across the board to all the anti-smoking groups, and the prediction is confirmed: there is very little justification. Indeed, the absence of justification is so pronounced that it has already been picked up in several of the tables as one of the salient features in the 'what' summary. So lack of justification there certainly is, and the theory says 'I told you so!'

*Bernstein, Basil, Class, Codes and Control, Penguin, London.

Within the castes it is the professional groups that should speak out on 'health' and speak out they do: roughly averaging the groups, a massive 30 percent of what they say is devoted to this one concern. But the sects say scarcely anything about health (ASH 5.4 percent, GASP 6.5 percent). From this we could infer that the castes are about six times more concerned with saving lives than are the sects.

When we look at 'Polity' the concerns are reversed, though not quite so spectacularly. The NICSH does the speaking for the professional groups on this topic and it has quite a lot to say (about policy aimed at saving lives, presumably, NICSH 21.8 percent while the groups have only 9.2 percent, 3.2 percent, and 4.5 percent). But, when we come to the sects, they have even more to say (ASH 35.1 percent, GASP 33.1 percent). Indeed, so massive is the sectist slice devoted to 'Polity' that, by the time the rest has been subdivided between all the other concerns, it is really about all they have to say. Since the sects have so little concern with health, whatever it is that they have to say cannot have much to do with saving lives. It must, therefore, be about the other aim--putting smokers in their place.

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Quite apart from the caste/sect theory as such, systematic content analysis can be utilized to investigate other developments in the cigarette smoking arena. Take two examples — one old, the other quite novel:

1) If the tar and nicotine in the tobacco has been identified as the culprit, it seems reasonable to spur efforts to cut down those ingredients while preserving enough of the taste. That is what has been done, with regular listings of the various brands and their respective contents to the nearest hundredth of a decimal point, just like the EPA estimates for the new cars each year. But what if — as some theories posit, and supported by empirical evidence — there is really a tobacco addiction such that an established smoker has to get his daily "nicotine fix"? Under such circumstances, they would need to smoke many more cigarettes to reach their daily minimum, thus contributing to even more pollution to the environment. We can understand the tobacco companies not pushing this issue since it probably means a larger total cigarette consumption, but what if a strong, authoritative-backed report was issued to that effect? How would the

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anti-smoking groups react, individually or collectively? They too are as vulnerable to unanticipated consequences and undesirable side-effects as the next group, but it is not clear just what we would expect them to do — ignore the report completely, attempt a full and detailed rebuttal, pooh-pooh it as trivial, or perhaps even embrace it, admit they were fooled in the past, and use that as a basis for a renewed total banning campaign? What does the theory say about such instances according to the different groups involved? Might this be the opening wedge to separate the sects from the castes? If so, how would each react in their internal and public communications?

2. There has recently been suggested legislation requiring that all cigarettes be treated so that they automatically expire within a given time period (one minute?) if left lit but unattended. We are not sure of the technical feasibility for such an alleged anti-fire action but we can envisage some possible incongruity and discomfort for the anti-smoker community. On the one hand, they wouldn't want to appear to be against fire safety; on the other hand, such a mechanism would probably mean more cigarettes smoked, more sales for their nemesis, the tobacco companies, etc. Can we predict how they would react? The acid test of any theory is not so much in retroactive testing — how well it stands up in data already collected and analyzed — but how well it can predict into the future. The tactic is to await or provoke such critical events to see how well such predictions hold up. Even without a theory standing by, it could be fun just to see how they would react to occasions such as the above, but one has to get set to do so ahead of time, otherwise it will be too late.

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PRELIMINARY PROPOSAL FOR A STUDY TO BE ENTITLED
"THE POLITICAL CULTURE OF ANTI-SMOKING GROUPS"

Our pilot study has generated what we believe to be a general theory explaining the motives and behavior of anti-smoking groups and their leaders. We have also developed content analysis into an original and persuasive methodological tool for testing theories of political culture. Now we wish to wed this general cultural theory to the particular politics of anti-smoking groups. The result, we believe, will be a powerful predictor of the consequences of employing different strategies for coping with anti-smoking groups.

To understand the political culture of anti-smoking groups, we need to collect additional data. We refer to three kinds of data: biographical data on group leaders (who may be virtually all there is to the group), political data on strategies and tactics in the legislative and administrative arenas, and group data on "umbrella" associations.

Biographical data is available from standard public sources. Career patterns can be adduced from directories, publicity handouts, in-house publications, and newspapers. Interviews with leaders, if a search is made, are also generally available. With this data it is

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possible to say where leaders have come from and where they go. They can be placed into sect and caste and their behavior explained (and predicted and tested) accordingly.

The behavior to be explained becomes richer and more varied when we know more about how grand objectives are set (the strategies) and how they are achieved (the tactics). Hearings, debates, articles, newspaper stories, all contain accounts of how anti-smoking groups interact with government. Does this behavior, we will ask, bear out our theories of political culture? To the extent it does, we will have explained, accounted for that behavior. But that is not all.

Once we have an understanding of what anti-smoking groups do, and why they do it, we will be in a much better position than any one has been, we believe, to assess the relative efficacy of (a) their strategies and tactics and (b) those designed to counter them.

Assume, for the moment, that the theory has been vindicated in that, when fully tested against the content analysis, it comes out with flying colors. What use will it be to our clients?

First and foremost, it will alter their perception of what it is that is happening. They will gain a new and deeper understanding of their predicament. This new understanding of just what it is that they are up against will enable them to be much more discriminating in their efforts to counter their opponents. That is, they could on the basis of this analysis refine their tactics--throwing more resources into those that the theory suggests are likely to be effective and less into those that the theory suggests are either ineffective or else downright

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in addition to harmful. But, / these tactical changes that such an increase in discriminatory power makes possible, the theory also suggests that it may be well worth while making some major shifts in strategy. Beyond making changes in how they counter the opposition, our clients may also benefit by making changes in who they consider to constitute the opposition. Once they can distinguish one kind of opposition from another, it may be worth their while to make friends with some of them-- those that cannot be beaten!

Secondly, and by no means inconsequential, our clients will confirm their understanding of the full range of opposition. At baseball games the hawkers cry, "You can't tell the players without a scorecard!". We say, "You can't score unless you know the players" --who they are, how they relate to one another, what they want, and whether they are prepared to compromise.

Some examples:

1. The main basis for this increased discrimination is the distinction between castes and sects and the understanding of the interplay between them. Before you can decide how to counter an anti-smoking group you have to know what kind of a group it is. This we can tell you. If it is a sect--a real sect--it will be impotent so why bother about it? If it is a caste then that is a serious matter. If it is a quite powerful sectist leader with his phantom followers behind him, that is quite serious. The best way to handle such an opponent would be to act so as to encourage him to move closer to his followers down in the trough of impotence. He only has power because of his skill in

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pretending to be in two places at once--up there on the power slopes, with his followers right behind him, negotiating with the castes (the professional and governmental groups) and down there inside the wall of virtue that insulates his followers from any contact with this evil outside world. So anything that helps to reveal the deception will tend to increase his impotence and, once he and his followers are impotent, they can safely be ignored. This study has certainly made one thing clear and it is that there is nothing, absolutely nothing, that the tobacco companies could do that would satisfy —————→

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a sect leadership such as War on Want's...except going bankrupt. Since there is no way you can negotiate with them, encouraging them to move back down into impotence where they can then be ignored is not just the best tactic to adopt--it is the only one.

Making friends with some of the present opposition within the castes, by driving a wedge between them and the sects, may be one way to act to reduce sectist powers. Sects and castes are not natural allies and it might be a good idea to consider which present the more serious avoidable long-term threat.

In any event, castes undoubtedly are the serious opposition. It may be possible to take on the immature castes such as exist in the United States at present but the mature British castes are another matter. Macmillan, when asked what he thought of Heath's handling of the strike that brought down his (Heath's) government, said:

I have always considered it most unwise to take on
the Brigade of Guards, the Roman Catholic Church and
the National Union of Mine workers.

The same, as far as the tobacco companies are concerned, probably holds for those solidly established castes that enjoy the deference of the rest of the population. But at least castes do not make the impossible demands that sects make. They don't want prohibition; they are in favor of mitigation. They encourage the search for lower tar cigarettes, and they accept that smoking can give satisfaction. So it is possible to make friends with castes and still stay in business, and making friends with them may help to drive a swedge between them and the insatiable sects. In doing this the tobacco companies may be doing us all a favor.

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2. The activities and successes of the reverse entrepreneurs are ^{being} proof that at present many negotiables are / converted to absolutes and that few are making the journey the other way. The tobacco companies keep finding themselves on the wrong side of this moving frontier and some deeper understanding of how it moves, how far it is likely to move in the future, and how much could be done to prevent it moving in certain directions, would be a great help in guiding decisions as to what to get into and what to stay out of. If we understood better whether sects can become castes, or whether sects appear and disappear, leaving a residue to be picked up by castes, we would have a better idea of what strategies to consider.

For instance, if conservation and preventive medicine--two areas in which both sects and castes are currently active--are here to stay, how do we estimate where the frontier will end up? It is more likely to end up where the castes want it to be than where the sects would like it to be. So from all the welter of regulatory demands that are being made, separate out those that are being made by the castes (especially by mature castes) and diversify outside those limits.

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A special object of research should be umbrella groups. They differ between the two countries and they contain interesting mixtures of public and private groups. Unless there is information about which we are unaware, we think it useful for all concerned to know how these umbrella associations are constituted. How does their membership grow and decline? What would knowledge of the constituent elements, and their shape and structure over time, tell us about their character? Just as one would like to know what differentiates people who join anti-smoking groups from those who do not, a subject for a much different study, we would also like to understand who gets asked and who actually does join umbrella groups like NICSH.

It would also be useful to explore financial linkages among anti-smoking groups. How much of their money comes from government? Do castes support sects so the latter extreme actions can make the former look more respectable? Financial reports now contain financial statements. Since there are so many non-governmental agencies of NICSH, not only how they get there but how they stay there financially would be informative. The coordination of power, program, and money is always a matter of prime political importance.

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These suggestions are not comprehensive. We have not been briefed on how our clients see their predicament nor are we privy to their present tactics and strategies in countering the forces of anti-smoking. They are simply ideas that have sprung up out of our involvement in this pilot study but we feel sure that, if we were to be asked to develop them properly, we could come up with unexpected and useable suggestions. At the least, we think it would be useful to challenge existing assumptions on how to carry on political campaigns.

This project would take one year. The level of effort would be enhanced by an additional research associate.

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A PREFACE TO ANTI-SMOKING GROUPS:

THE ANTI-SYNDROME

To understand the species one must know the genus; to understand anti-smoking groups, one must understand the greater genus of which it is a part, not only anti-nuclear and other anti-growth groups, but also those that for whom a polluted environment is the keyword for a dirty social structure. If what these groups wanted was specific changes to enhance environmental qualities they believed to be desirable, it would not be difficult to deal with them. Bargaining would be the thing. Instead, compromise has, in their eyes, become a compact with the devil. If their concern was to improve health and safety, they would be concerned with ———→ bringing people together to consider evidence on health, rather than separating the pure from the impure.

Our hypothesis is that anti-smoking is part of the same syndrome of values and beliefs that wants to change social structure. Its adherents view the central problem of society as commitment to economic growth. What people want, it is believed, is not what they say; these wants are artificially induced. The sign of economic progress, to them, is physical pollution, which prefigures the breakdown of society. Because science and technology serve such a sick society, they are downgraded. Yet, the "anti-syndrome" is not anti-intellectual. Ideas are said to be more important than money. For one thing, being outside the production process, they have more ideas than money. For another,

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ideas are viewed as the mechanism for exchanging what they do have--communication skills--for what they lack--status, power, i.e. a social structure that values them more than a culture of economic individualism.

To begin with, therefore, this study of anti-smoking groups will be notable by their absence. Instead, we will present an outline of existing knowledge of the changes in values, beliefs, and group structure that create the context within which anti-smoking groups operate.

The Context: Big Government

The rise of big government--a large number of large public policies designed to affect private behavior--has profoundly altered the relationship between private groups, between them and government, and between organized advocates within government. A signpost of these altered relationships is the fact that in the past 15 years the rate of return on federal government securities has been considerably higher than the stock market. Evidently, dealing directly with government has become more profitable than taking chances with industry. Nor has the lesson been lost on our would-be group leaders. Where groups in the past might organize to get the government to act in their favor, nowadays groups often organize in response to earlier governmental activities. Samuel Beer's analysis of the growth of intra-governmental lobbies is appropriate. Not only did mayors and governors organize in response to federal action but their efforts enhanced the importance of public organization within the overall federal system.

The "interests" we talk about are often within and between levels of government, and pressure politics means one government leaning on another.

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It did not take long for private interests to discover that they also could levy charges on one another through government. Instead of bargaining with each other directly, they could get government to impose regulations on their opponents. Of course, the use of public money for private purposes has been going on since time immemorial. Classic cases would be internal improvements, such as dams and harbors, and later income transfers, such as welfare of various kinds. But this new development is not only vastly greater in degree but also different in kind. For regulation acts as an excise tax, requiring private expenditure on a particular purpose, such as worker safety or pollution abatement or record keeping in mental hospitals. To the proponents the advantages are immense. Instead of feeling that impersonal forces are imposing rules on them, they get to impose rules on others without having to do the work themselves. In addition to this personal satisfaction, the setup is superb for a small group of professional leaders in contact with a large mail-order membership. On one side, leadership positions are multiplied without the usual constraints of a membership active in person; on the other, demands on members are far less than the all-consuming sects of old. Taken together as a statement of political economy, the costs of entry (a few dollars per mail-order member) and of activity (lobbying and legal work) in influencing government have been vastly reduced.

How about countervailing power? The push toward regulation is bound to generate a counter-push against it. Win some, lose some. But the anti-regulatory movement is hampered because costs are so widely diffused in the form of higher prices that it is difficult to say who is paying for what is happening. As only a tiny proportion of the total shows up as strict governmental expenditure, spending limits are not an effective counteraction.

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Where, for instance does counter-vailing power come from in housing? Public interest law firms and environmental groups, acting to maintain what they see as the purity of the land, prevent housing from being built. The litigation, the hearings, the paper work is endless. Eventually there is a compromise. The rapists of the land, as they call developers, agree to build one-tenth the number of houses at ten times the price. Developers get higher profits per unit with less effort. Public interest officials save ninety percent of the land from being ravaged*. The poor person who wants housing finds it more expensive and further out. But who does he blame? How does he know he has been done in and who has done it to him?

Summing up the situation, we find that the benefit of interaction with government has increased substantially while the cost has declined considerably. If we are correct, this political cost-benefit analysis would help explain the noticeable increase in the rate of interest group formation and activity. But it would not, by itself, explain the aims of this activity as well as the particular procedures employed. Now, to a certain extent, it appears ^{that} the emphasis on spelling out procedures of due process, insisting on openness and public hearings in government, may be explained by the characteristics of the interest groups we are analyzing. Naturally, they want to increase their points of access and to use the resources at their command--skills in publication and litigation--to enhance their position. It is also easier to get their memberships to agree on apparently fair procedures than on issues of substance like trade or tariffs. Having said so much, however, having virtually described a subgroup style of operation, we are led back to the anthropologists' concern with cultural variation: Why do these subgroups adopt a different style than others? To answer this question, to be sure, we need to know something more about who they are and why they believe what they do.

*Bernard Fisher, The Environmental Hostile (MIT Press, 1979)

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Who Are the Secretarians?

The major study of political^y relevant values in Western Europe and the United States in the post-second World War period concludes that there has been a radical reversal toward what the author calls "post materialism". According to Ronald Inglehart's , The Silent Revolution: Changing Values and Political Styles Among Western Publics, compared to pre-war materialists, influenced by economic scarcity and domestic disruption, post-materialists are highly educated, relatively affluent, and skillful in political communication. Since they no longer need to stress the safety or sustenance of their bodies, they can presumably satisfy what the author calls non-material needs for group identification and for self-realization. Their aims, in addition to personal participation, are not for more income, which they have, but involve the quality of life, including democratization of work, i.e. a sense of individual control over social forces. Hence their demands tend to be, in language of the sixties, "non-negotiable."*

How large is the post-materialist cadre? Since the classifications are based on very few questions, and most people apparently are neither material or post-material, the best we can do is say around 10 percent of those covered in the author's sample surveys. What is the relationship

*Ronald Inglehart, The Silent Revolution: Changing Values and Political Styles Among Western Publics (Princeton, 1977) .

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of post-materialists to materialist class cleavages? In common with most analysts, Inglehart observes that governments set up to meet old-style materialism demands appear ^{poorly} prepared to accommodate demands related to the quality of life. While recognizing the basic importance of this study, we think the data is subject to broader interpretation.

However one interprets post-materialism, it is clearly a minority phenomena. Though this does by no means render it politically impotent, it means that something other than size must be cited for its significance. Following our previous discussion of competition among the educated, and hence the devaluation of intellectual work in terms of status and amenities, a material and a social explanation can be joined. Post-materialists, like their predecessors, are out to establish the value of the kind of work they do and the kind of skills they do it with.

Instead of looking for the enemies of industrial society among those who participate in its productive processes, such as workers or managers, they are found outside its precinct. Whether the reader finds our view surprising (after all, wouldn't opposition be more likely outside than inside a system?) depends on the plausibility the reader assigns to prevailing opinion to the contrary. The social structure post-materialists prefer, we would argue, is a form of sectarianism.

Why? Because it offers the benefits of modernity without the costs of competition. For if the "marketplace of ideas" gets overcrowded, the ecology of this environment will no longer offer them sufficient sustenance. We have shown how, under contemporary conditions, this modern form of sectarianism is adapted to the opportunities of large-scale government. Here we want to get at the question of what distinguishes our symbol-specialist sectarians from other people. Our question is not about just anybody; we want to know why a specific subculture wants to act this way.

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For our purposes, sample surveys of entire populations are not as useful as surveys of specific subcultures. Stephen Cotgrove and his colleagues at Bath University in England have sampled the views of members of Friends of the Earth and the Conservation Society and taken another sample from Business Who's Who and Who's Who in Engineering in regard to whether ^{their respondents} ~~^~~ thought environmental problems were extremely serious or hardly serious at all. They then subsampled those ^{who} ~~^~~ were most worried (calling them "catastrophists") and those who were not so worried (calling them "cornucopians"). The cornucopians were in favor of economic growth in industrial society and accorded deference to experts. The catastrophists were anti-industrial, denigrated economic growth, and favored an enhanced sense of belonging to a community. The most interesting difference between cornucopians and catastrophists is their social positions:

The cornucopians are typically in occupations which are central to the production process in industrial society. Few catastrophists are in such jobs.

The cornucopians are typically engineers, consultants, directors, managers, marketing and sales people; industrial scientists. The catastrophists are typically research scientists, academics, doctors, teachers, clergy, social workers, writers, artists and actors.*

*New Society , 22 March 1979, p. 683.

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A It may well be that the difference between those connected to the production process and those who are essentially manipulators of symbols is more important than the two cultures of science versus the arts and humanities of which C.P. Snow wrote in the 1960s.

We would agree with Cotgrove and his colleagues that:

... over a range of environmental questions--on reserves of fossil fuels, the risks of nuclear energy, prospects for world food supplies, the control of pollution--there is a connection between social position, knowledge and interests. The debate about reprocessing nuclear fuels is not just technical--it is a struggle for a certain future society. ... (emphasis added)

Cornucopians are genuinely puzzled over how anyone could possibly see things the way the catastrophists do.

Catastrophists, in turn, are exasperated at the apparent stubborn blindness of the optimists. Opposing doctrines about society and the environment confront each other incomprehensibly.*

*New Society, 22 March 1979, p. 684.

When we glance at the views of the future held by catastrophists and cornucopians, we observe that attitudes to industrial society are central. Since such a society now exists, those who are opposed to it face more than ordinary difficulties.

Since cornucopians are apparently still largely in the majority, the problem for catastrophists is how to make out in a society that does not yet agree with them.

Cotgrove's survey suggests that catastrophists are strongly in favor of direct action against political institutions which they believe are dominated by big government, industry, and unions, and that cornucopians are opposed. And the trend of the times certainly suggests that extra-legal action is much more likely to be successful in the less industrialized portions of the world. In other days, returning to the views of the future, those who viewed the environment as morally polluted sought to separate themselves from it. They created their own sects and kept a safe distance if they could. The social structure of catastrophists suggests that they are too well integrated in the communications mechanisms of society to either want or succeed in doing this. They are not exactly the "lumpen-proletariat." If, we believe, they are unlikely to be revolutionary

and unlikely to succeed if they are, the question arises again, how they might relate to the political process of an industrial society so as to promote the values of their kind of sectarianism without living the ascetic life of a sect?

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SECTIST INTEREST GROUPS

Students of interest groups are not only concerned with what they do when fully formed, but how they get started. Why do some potential groups in society remain unorganized and others bring their views to the attention of government? In seeking to account for the origins of interest groups, there are two major approaches: the "disturbance" theory of David Truman* and the entrepreneurial theory of Robert Salisbury**. As Truman sees it, people go along in their usual way until something happens in society to disturb them. Their relations with other elements in society are altered and so the prospects of improving their condition by organizing come to the fore. Wars, depressions, government entry into an area, and other sources of disturbance may lead groups to organize. Beginning with Salisbury challenged this view. A study of the origins of farm organizations, he observed that there appeared ^{to be} a decline in bad economic periods, whereas the disturbance theory suggested they should be on the rise. Some groups did start up but at least an equal number declined. From Salisbury's point of view, interest group formation and maintenance should be looked at as a process of exchange: What leaders and members lose and ———→ gain by organizing is the critical question.

Oftentimes potential members of interest groups would be unaware of the benefits of organization. Even if the world outside appears hostile to them, they would have to believe there was something government or other groups could do for them, that this could be facilitated by organization, and that the effort would be worth it. These are sizeable conceptual leaps. So Salisbury postulates a crucial role for the organizer or entrepreneur who brings people together by convincing them it is worthwhile. Two sets of

*David B. Truman, The Governmental Process, 2nd edition, New York: Alfred Knopf, 1971.

**Robert H. Salisbury, "An Exchange Theory of Interest Groups," Midwest Journal of Political Science, Vol. 13 (February 1969), pgs. 1-32.

advantages and disadvantages, then, must be related; something must be in it for the entrepreneur as well as for the members.

In order to choose among these theories, Jeffrey N. Berry, in his book on Lobbying for the People: The Political Behavior of Public Interest Groups* studied the origins, development, and maintenance of some 83 public interest groups operating in Washington during 1972-73. If the origins of the group were related to some disturbance in the environment, Truman's hypothesis was regarded as supported. If, in the absence of significant external events, leadership was of primary importance, Salisbury's thesis would be confirmed. Berry's conclusion was that "roughly two-thirds of the sample organizations were begun by entrepreneurs working without significant disturbances as additional stimulæ. The origins of a much smaller number (29 percent) of organizations can be traced to a disturbance of some type." Since almost half the organizations originated in response to international issues, involving rapid changes in war and technology, the conclusion is all the more remarkable. Berry says what we would say: "The more common pattern is entrepreneurial dominance. The groups possessing this characteristic are products of their leaders and of changes in cultural values rather than of specific events."

*Jeffrey N. Berry, Lobbying for the People: The Political Behavior of Public Interest Groups, Princeton University Press, 1977.

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According

to Berry, "a public interest group is one that seeks a collective good, the achievement of which will not selectively and materially benefit the membership or activists of the organization." (p.7) Unlike farm or labor groups, for instance, the benefits they seek are presumably available to all citizens; members may benefit but presumably these benefits are shared. Designation as "public interest" groups carries more than a convenient label. It suggests that these groups are pure (their interests are public, i.e. open and shared) whereas, other groups are impure (their interests are private, i.e. closed and closely-held). Though each says there are a variety of public interests, of which they are only one, they place non-material interests, such as health and safety and proper procedure, above material matters. This elevation serves them well. At once they are able to disclaim selfish motives, such as direct pecuniary gain, while pursuing policies that use other people's tax money to suit their "post-material" preferences. Whether power, status, leadership, visibility, etc. belong to a higher moral plane than wages and profits is not our subject. Public interest groups make claims on others including government. Their relation to government, in addition, is quite direct; they are regulated by the Internal Revenue Service in return for which people who contribute to them are able to use these monies as tax deductions. Without tax-deductibility, the ability of these groups to survive would be in doubt. The trade-off is that they do not engage in overt lobbying, though they do engage in educational activities, which may or may not be a distinction without a difference.

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In their political views, around two-thirds of public interest activists identify with the Democratic party, compared to about 40 percent of the general public. When asked to place themselves on the usual political scale, ^{around three-fourths} of activists in public interest organizations saw themselves as liberal or radical. In summing up the relationship to their work of employees of public interest lobbies, Berry says that "for the most part, these people are zealots, and they derive a great deal of satisfaction from their jobs. In contrast ^{to} the more mildly committed private interest lobbyists, the public interest lobbyists are more likely to seek out the work they are doing, rather than merely to "drift" into it." (pg. 109)

Some public interest lobbies are pristine national organizations in that there is essentially no membership but only officials. "In examining the organization of public interest groups, what is most interesting is not that they are oligarchic in practice, but that there are not even formal concessions to a democratic structure in a majority of membership groups," (p.187) according to Berry. "In response to questions concerning constituency ^{relations} in organizational policymaking, interviewees for these groups were very frank in admitting that their memberships are supportive rather than participatory." (Pg. 188) Nevertheless, through occasional appearances at annual conventions, or by withholding support, members may exert at least some negative influence.

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One consequence of lack of direct influence by members is that the staffs and governing boards of public interest lobbies have a great deal of discretion. Thus, for example, church representatives told Berry that they were able to take much more liberal positions than those their membership would have approved. (pg. 194)

In dividing responsibilities and powers within the top level of public interest lobbies, interviews suggest that ⁱⁿ more than two-thirds, ~~—→~~ staff was more important than board. Basically, this is also true in many corporations; boards ratify what management proposes unless and until there are moments of crisis. "For public interest groups," Berry tells us, "advocacy choices must be understood in the context of the staff's domination and personalized decision making that characterizes so many of the organizations.

...It is clear that the power to choose new issues on which to lobby rests in the hands of the staff members in most of the organizations. The men and women who run the public interest groups do not sit at the apex of large bureaucracies. Fifty-four percent of the Washington offices have three or fewer staff professionals, and 90 % have 10 or less. Consequently, these groups, which ostensibly 'speak for the people,' do so through the voices (in deliberations) of a very few" . (pgs. 209-210).

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For the most part, public interest groups use the same kind of tactics as other groups. ^{But there} are two exceptions. In the early stages

—————> they are more likely to —————> organize mass political protests, because that is the avenue most available to them. The second and ^{most} interesting difference, as Berry informs us,

...is that they tend to be carried out by ad hoc ^{of} coalitions/groups. Because protests require ^{expenditure of} significant/resources, there is a clear incentive to pool efforts. Another factor is that demonstrations, ^{are} which as a rule ^{are} aimed at the press, generally decrease in newsworthiness —————> the more they occur. This also acts as an incentive for cooperative behavior, because it is advantageous to decrease overlap among potentially similarly oriented protests.

Nevertheless it is also characteristic for a single group to take a distinct leadership role within the coalition. (pg. 233)

Within public interest groups, there is an important difference: some, such as the Public Citizens —> Litigation Group, and the Environmental Defense Fund, use law suits as their major instrument, unlike the Sierra Club and Common Cause, which engage in lobbying.
←—————> As Berry so neatly puts it, "for the former type of lobby, the law is thought of as the way to work within the system without having to 'stoop to politics'." (page 267)

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PUBLIC INTEREST ORGANIZATIONS AS MODERN SECTS

Why do educated professional people with post-material, catastrophic values adopt the specific subcultural style evident in public interest groups? By post-material, to recapitulate, we refer to social belonging and nature loving among people who have long since accumulated the material necessities as well as enough to keep open their channels of communication--radio, television, mail, phone, magazines, reports, conferences. Catastrophe comes in partly because that is what they believe (and who among us can say it can't happen?) and partly because that is what it is convenient to believe. According to their cosmology, the outside world of industrial society is contaminated by definition as well as by observation. Because it is bad, and by contrast, inside is good, /^{their} activities are justified.

But because the inside--the home, the haven, the refuge--must be kept pure, compromise cannot be considered. Individuals can compromise. Speaking for themselves, they can join a committee and come up with a compromise. Speaking for their sect, as a sect, they cannot.

For compromise signifies contamination. No more than a Jew would mix milk and meat, or boil a kid in its mother's milk, would a sectist mix issues. Single-issue specialization suits his cosmology. Single issues avoid mixing. They avoid charges of inconsistency; they avoid the necessity of compromise. No need, therefore, to give up something here to get another thing there. No chance, furthermore, for disagreement on one issue to spill over to others. The fewer the issues, obviously, the less the opportunity for disagreement.

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The resulting sin of sects is fissure. Lacking a legitimate hierarchal structure with rules for resolving disagreements from above, they can only cope with dissension by splitting off to form new groups. Single-issues reduce this risk.

By the same token, however, the importance of purity on that "tie-that-binds" grows greater. So they shun compromise. The closer the community outside comes to their views, the faster they move away from them. Where communists used to say, "the worse the better," hoping hard times would lead to revolution, sectists say "the better the worse" as movement in their policy direction only confirms their original feeling of righteousness, thereby condemning the outside for not having seen the light sooner, thus suggesting that original demands undoubtedly did not go far enough.

Strengths are also weaknesses. Maintaining internal purity keeps cohesion. But it also keeps sects and, what is worse, their leaders from entering into alliances or, the last step, into government. Here lies the opportunity for power, pulling the levers of government with the authority of government is so much stronger than telling others inside government to pull them--and the odium: cooptation is the curse of sectism.

Remember the old song, "How are you going to keep them down on the farm once they've seen 'Paree'?"

—————> Just as the expansion of government creates new opportunities for sects, it amplifies old dangers. For one thing, government is compromise. No one can (or is supposed to) get all they want. Purity has to be sacrificed. Cries of "selling out" are heard. For another, the leaders involved learn a great deal about the substance of the issue. They change

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their minds. They meet other powerful people. The advantages of "wheeling and dealing" become evident. So does the inconvenience of being limited by foolish followers. A more hierarchical collective, a caste as we call it, is in the making.

AFTERWORD

It has occurred to us that we might be a bit more sympathetic to public interest groups and their preferred public policies. Would it make a difference to the cultural categories in which we put them, or the social theory by which we evaluate them, if we were sympathetic to their political position? We think not. Yet it is not easy to adduce evidence of what we would think if we were different than we are. The best we can do is show that scholars who hold what they call "an alternative paradigm" on environmentalism see these people with whom they identify much the same as we do. As S.F. Cotgrove and Andrew Duff write in their latest report on the study of "cornucopians" and "catastrophists" (previously discussed):

There is little doubt that alternative social paradigms generate major problems of communication and understanding. Hence the charges and counter-charges of unreason and irrationality between environmentalists and supporters of the status quo. From the environmentalist perspective, it is modern industrial societies dominated by the value of "technology - organisation - efficiency - growth - progress ..." whose sanity is called into question: "... only such single valued mindlessness would cut down the last redwoods, pollute the most beautiful beaches, invent machines to injure and destroy plant and human life. To have only one value, is, in human terms, to be mad. It is to be a machine". And from the industrialists' perspective, environmentalist policies look silly, utopian, or plain mad.

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The charges and

counter-charges of unreason are rooted in the failure to grasp that what is at stake is competing world-views and ideologies. The debate about environmental issues becomes a dialogue of the blind talking to the deaf. It is such experiences which, it can be argued, contribute to the decline in political legitimacy,³¹ a falling off in support for traditional political parties and processes, and an increase in direct action.

This analysis suggests that many prescriptions for increasing the rationality of the environmentalist debate fail to penetrate to the heart of the problem. Its 'irrational' character is generally diagnosed as being due to a failure to settle crucial scientific and technical issues. Opposition to nuclear energy is seen to be irrational, because the scientific evidence demonstrates it to be safer than windmills.³² A more sophisticated version recognises that the evidence of those who have an interest in an issue may be partial or distorted. So, it is argued, the way to ensure a rational debate for the inquiry on fast-breeder reactors is to set up more broad-based machinery which would not be dependent on those institutionally committed to official options, but would be able to initiate, conduct or commission independent research.³³ In short, the problem of achieving rationality is seen to be fundamentally one of getting the facts right, and of discovering the right technical and organisational solutions. Such an approach fails to recognise the problems of communication and understanding rooted in alternative paradigms. What is not appreciated is the existence of what may be described as an anthropological problem of competing cultures and meaning systems.*

We agree.

*Stephen Cotgrove, and Andrew Duff, "Environmentalism Middle Class Radicalism and Politics".

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To make sure there is no denying the similarity of the set of thoughts, Cotgrove and Duff's report on environmentalists →
→ and the general public is also incomplete according with what we would expect. They write that:

IN ANSWER

to items such as "Science and technology can solve our problems by finding new sources of energy, materials, and ways of increasing food production", and "We attach too much importance to reason and science to the neglect of our intuition", it was the environmentalists who showed their lack of confidence in, and even hostility to science and technology by contrast with the public. (Table 1 scale 3) And on a scale of opposition to the institutions of industrial society environmentalists were significantly more opposed than members of the general public (Table 1/ scale 4). Substantial differences in values and ideals between the two groups also emerged. Using a modified form of Inglehart's⁶ scale for measuring 'material' and 'post-material' values, we found a marked polarisation between environmentalists and the public, the former scoring higher on items indicating support for post-material values, and much lower on material items (Table 1 scale 5). Support for material values was indicated by high priority given to items such as "Maintaining a high rate of economic growth" and "maintaining a stable economy". By contrast, the environmentalists gave high priority to "progressing toward a less impersonal, more humane society", and "progressing toward a society where ideas are more important than money".

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Just to make sure we will rest with their conclusion:

What differentiates environmentalists is a complex of beliefs about the nature of industrial society, about both the effectiveness and desirability of many of its core institutions and values. Their world-view differs markedly from the dominant view. It constitutes an alternative paradigm, with different beliefs about nature and man's relations with his environment, about how the economy can best be organised, about politics, and about the nature of society (Figure 2).

Figure 2 COMPETING SOCIAL PARADIGMS

	<u>Dominant Social Paradigm</u>	<u>Alternative Environmental Paradigm</u>
CORE VALUES	Material (economic growth) Natural environment valued as resource Domination over nature	Non-material (self-actualisation) Natural environment intrinsically valued Harmony with nature
ECONOMY	Market forces Risk and reward Rewards for achievement Differentials Individual self-help	Public interest Safety Incomes related to need Egalitarian Collective/social provision
POLITY	Authoritative structures: (experts influential) Hierarchical Law and order	Participative structures: (citizen/worker involvement) Non-hierarchical Liberation
SOCIETY	Centralised Large-scale Associational Ordered	Decentralised Small-scale Communal Flexible
NATURE	Ample reserves Nature hostile/neutral Environment controllable	Earth's resources limited Nature benign Nature delicately balanced
KNOWLEDGE	Confidence in science and technology Rationality of means Separation of fact/value, thought/feeling	Limits to science Rationality of ends Integration of fact/value, thought/feeling

Substitute, if you will, paradigms for cosmologies, and we end at the same place.

TOWARD A STUDY OF ANTI-SMOKING GROUPS

Turning toward our own interest in anti-smoking groups, what would we expect their values and beliefs to be like? That's easy; like other anti-groups. Would we, then, expect to hear them speak directly about their opposition to economic growth or to the prevailing social structure? Not really, for we must not forget that most people, including businessmen, have some reason to be concerned about health, safety, and the environment. The difficulty lies in how to distinguish the one from the other, the reasoned from the unreasonable or, better put, the different reasons that lead various people to express concern.

A useful guide through this thicket is again provided by Cotgrove and Duff's surveys of environmental activists, socially similar people in industrial organizations, and the general public looked at in the large. There is considerable environmental concern in society. But when one asks for an expression of intensity of preference, environmentalists are much more deeply concerned. Environmentalists, moreover, are much more opposed to science than are either the general public or people who work in industry. It is environmentalists who see society as impersonal and inhumane. Summing it up, Cotgrove and Duff say that:

The polarisation between the beliefs and values of environmentalists and industrialists also emerged particularly strongly from answers to a question about what kind of society is preferred: "How would you describe the ideal type of society from your point of view?". Industrialists scored a strong preference for a cluster of items which can be

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labelled as 'economic individualism', preference for a society which emphasises economic growth, in which market forces predominate, stressing rewards for talent and achievement, the role of experts, and law and order. By contrast, the environmentalists were against growth, emphasised public interest in opposition to the market, need rather than achievement, and citizen participation in opposition to the increased influence of experts.*

It is important for us to understand that these connections are inferred by scholars and not made spontaneously by environmentalists. They answer questions when asked; they do not invent theories explaining their own behavior. In this respect, their behavior is no different than anyone else's: we do whatever we do for its own sake, because it is the right thing to do in context, not as a screen for social theories. Why that would appear duplicitous!

When we look at the public communications of anti-smoking groups, therefore, we would not expect them to carry their ideologies on their sleeves. They are not political parties engaged either in highlighting or obfuscating the connections among issues. Rather, they tell themselves and their members they are interested in smoking. If we want to go beneath the surface, they won't help us; we have to help ourselves. Indirectly, in what they say, in the priorities they give to different activities, they will reveal themselves. That revelation depends on developing a theory that will clue us in on what is conceptually important, and a method for testing indirect inferences.

*Stephen Cotgrove and Andrew Duff, "Environmentalism Class and Politics" (University of Bath: England), unpublished paper, pp. 4 and 6.

What field of inquiry, we may ask, is concerned with the transformation of values? If you ask economists where values come from, they will say values are revealed in action. Thus one question replaces another. If you ask sociologists, they will say values come from culture, which determines behavior. But where does culture come from?

Because culture is concerned with the relationship between values, beliefs, and social structure, this question is crucial for us. For it is precisely this relationship between anti-smoking groups and wider world views that we wish to uncover. Knowing something about how anti-smoking groups fit into the social scene, we will better be able to understand how they operate and thus how they might be contained. Instead of viewing them as all alike, we can at least separate out castes that care about the thing itself (integrated into society, they want small changes and can compromise to get them) from sects that see smoking as symbolic of larger social disorders. Then we will go on to show how our theories can be tested indirectly by a content analysis of publications put out by anti-smoking groups.

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II

INTRODUCTION BY WAY OF BRITISH ANTI-SMOKING GROUPS

It is not often that a practical and seemingly straightforward piece of organizational research ends up calling into question some of the basic assumptions of social theory but this, it turns out, is one of them. The anti-smoking movement is made up of groups but, when we look more closely, we find that there are some very different kinds of groups within it. With such extreme internal variation, how does it manage to present to the outside world an appearance so clear-cut and monolithic as to qualify for the label 'movement'? Not wishing to avoid this question, we have developed the organizational analysis by moving back and forth between trying to describe what is there and trying to understand how it could be there.

By doing this we have been able to show that much of the behavior generated by the anti-smoking movement and many of the demands made from within it are not explicable simply in terms of the characteristics of the various groups involved. Much of what is going on makes sense only in terms of the processes by which one kind of group becomes transformed into another and by the cross-cutting processes that cause individuals to move into and out of such ever-changing groups. Anti-smoking has to be seen, not as a movement within our society, but as a way of understanding what our society is....and where it is going.

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ORGANISATION

A FIRST LOOK AT THE ORGANISATION

Within the various categories of organisations there seems to be a British equivalent for each American organisation.

USA	BRITAIN
I FEDERAL GOVERNMENT	
(a) Office of Smoking and Health	DHSS/Health Education Council + HEC for Scotland
(b) US Senate, Committee on Human Resources, Sub committee on Health and Scientific Research	Hunter Committee Medical Research Council (Smoking Group)
(c) Office of the Surgeon General, HEW	Royal College of Physicians
II NATIONAL MEDICAL/PROFESSIONAL ORGANISATIONS	
(a) American Cancer Society	Cancer Research Campaign/Imperial Cancer Research Fund
(b) American Heart Assn.	British Heart Federation
(c) American Lung Assn.	Chest Heart and Stroke Assn.
(d) Health Research Group (Nadar orgn.)	WHICH?
(e) NICSH	ASH/DHSS/HEC
III NATIONAL ANTI-SMOKING GROUPS	
(a) ASH	ASH
(b) GASP	British Anti-Smoking Education Society National Society of Non Smokers
(c) National Inter-agency Council on Smoking and Health	(HEC?)
(d) Non-Smokers' Society of America, Inc	National Society for Clean Air?

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in all

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IV LOCAL ANTI-SMOKING GROUPS

- (a) SHAME
- (b) FANS (Mass.)
- (c) Non-smokers' Rights Group
(Conn.)
- (d) Committee for Proposition 5
(Ca.) *Californians for Clean Air?*

Local sections of ASH: Scottish Committee of ASH, Inverness ASH, Northern Ireland ASH, ASH in Wales, Solent ASH, Northern ASH.

V INTERNATIONAL GROUPS

- (a) WHO

WHO (Study group on Smoking).
Expert Committee on Smoking and its Effects on Health.
International Agency for Research on Cancer.

- (b) Sister Organisations

American ASH, FAO, ILO

VI RELIGIOUS GROUPS

- (a) 7th Day Adventists
- (b) Mormons
- (c) Amish

(7th Day Adventists)
(Mormons)
Natural Society of Non Smokers?

VII SOCIAL GROUPS

- (a) Fresh Air Singles
- (b) Non-smokers' Travel Club

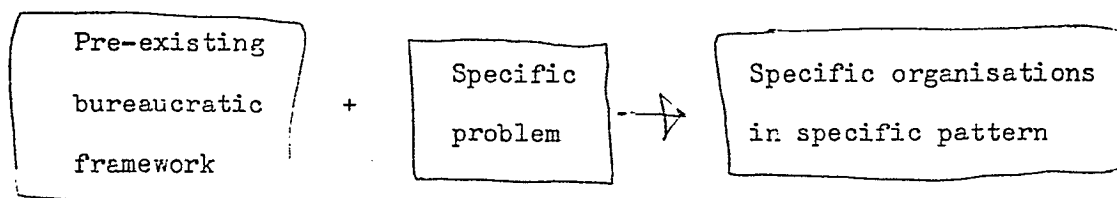
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This is, perhaps, quite surprising. Why should the levels and the types of organisation at each level be so similar? Is it because groups are called into existence by the prior requirements of governmental and quasi-governmental bureaucracy?

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Hypothesis:



The biggest contrast with the US lies at levels III and IV of the organisations. Where America has around 40 anti groups, Britain really only has ASH (and a few local ASHes, and a rather inactive National Society of Non-Smokers). What is more, British ASH is really an off-shoot of the Royal College of Physicians and of the Department of Health and Social Security and is not a terribly joinable organisation. By contrast, a joinable organisation would be the Friends of the Earth or SCRAM - Scottish Campaign to Resist the Atomic Menace. British ASH does not disclose its membership nor is it particularly forthcoming about its sources of funds. However, it seems unlikely that individual fees (which in 1976 were set at the rather high level of £5 p.a. - compared with £1.50 for the Friends of the Earth and £2 for the Campaign for Real Ale) account for much of its income. The main sources of its funds are a grant from the Department of Health and Social Security, grants from Area Health Authorities, and corporate subscriptions (£20 p.a.).

There simply is nothing in the anti-smoking field in Britain to compare with the American urge to join, to belong, to take sides... to segregate. Why should this be so?

There is a high level of concern in Britain about smoking: e.g. Health Education Council, Hunter Committee, Royal College of Physicians... ASH, but there is much less concern with non-smokers' rights and with

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belonging to anti-smoking groups. Is this because it just has not happened yet or is it because of some social contextual differences between American and British society?

We can reject the hypothesis that it will happen on the other side of the Atlantic soon - that everything that happens in the States will, in the fullness of time, hit Britain as well. There was no time lag between the Surgeon General's reports and those of the Royal College of Physicians*. There was no time lag between parliamentary debates on this topic in the two countries and the curves of increasing governmental concern and legislative action are fairly well-matched. So we should look to social contextual differences for an explanation.

- (a) The first and most obvious difference is that Britain, with its National Health Service, has a much more socialised medical and general health care system than does the United States. A very reasonable hypothesis would be that the prior existence of this governmental structure has pre-empted the formation of the secular sects of anti-smoking. This hypothesis receives support from at least two directions. One, the British anti-smoking organisations that do exist are very much the product of governmental prescriptions being handed down to the people, rather than constituting a developmental stage in a grassroots demand for government to move into, and act, in an area where previously it had not intervened. Two, in those areas in Britain that are not subject to such a high level of socialisation - such as environmental

* The other way round, in fact, The Surgeon General's reports were published in 1964 and 1979. Those of Royal College of Physicians in 1962, 1971 and 1977.

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care - there are grassroots movements of concerned individuals and a proliferation of highly joinable anti-groups for them to join.

- (b) This, if true, is still not a very deep explanation. It does not tell us why British medicine should come to be so socialised and American medicine should remain so privatised. The hypothesis that would take care of this deep level and the superficial level would be that America is a sectist society whilst Britain is a caste-ist (or collectivised or bureaucratised) society. This may seem to be a rather nonsensical contrast. After all, what could be more collectivised than a sect? And, surely, the contrast with 'collectivised' is 'individualised'? Quite so, both American and British anti groups are collectivised; the contrast is between two different types of collectivity: sects and castes.

It is important to maintain a distinction between, on the one hand, life sects and life castes (collectivities that are relevant for every area of the lives of the individuals who compose them) and, on the other hand, groupings that are relevant for only a part of the individual member's life. Though there are some life sects (the Amish, for example) in the United States (and, for all we know, life castes as well) most of the anti-smoking groupings impinge on only a part of the lives of their members. It is in order to maintain this distinction, between the total commitment of the members of a life sect or a life caste from the tendency or bias of the anti-smoker, that we choose the terms sectist and caste-ist.

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A sect erects a wall of virtue between itself and the nasty outside world from which it wishes to set itself apart. The members collectively reject the outside world - they do not negotiate any sort of relationship with it. The result is that, though the collectivity may exercise almost total control over its members, it can do nothing to the rest of the society.

A caste separates itself off, not with a wall of virtue, but by means of clearly defined distinctions between it and those other groupings that exist outside it. The result, as each caste defines itself by its distinction from (yet clearly-specified inter-relation with) other castes, is a complex hierarchical framework of status distinctions, prescriptions, restrictive practices, ^{correct} ~~some~~ channels and proper procedures. The members of a caste, therefore, do not reject the outside world: they collectively take up a clearly specified position within it. A caste, as a result, can come to exercise a high level of control over its own members and over those outside its boundary. A sect is an egalitarian and externally impotent collectivity. A caste is a status-conscious and externally potent collectivity.

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At first glance, what seems to be happening in America is a shift from sectism to caste-ism.* Initially, there are a lot of unconnected sects, each one surrounded by its own wall of virtue. In various ways, these sects bump up against one another and become aware of overlaps of interest that, if not sorted out, threaten to breach their walls of virtue. The leaders of these sects bump up against one another, quite literally, on their ways in and out of the government offices in Washington and they soon come to see the potential breaches in their walls of virtue, not as terrible threats to be resisted at all costs, but as marvellous opportunities. The leaders of two sects negotiate a relationship, each with an eye towards securing an improved position from which to petition government on behalf of the members of their sect. As more and more walls are breached and as more and more mutually advantageous agreements between sects are negotiated, so equality gives way to hierarchy and sects, step by gradual step, are themselves transformed into castes. What energy source, we may ask, provides the fuel for this process - sanskritization, to give it its proper name** - by which sects are converted into castes? The energy source is government and the fuel is government money and regulatory legislation.

That, very briefly, is our first formulation of the deep hypothesis for explaining what is going on in America and how what is going on

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* An aggregate shift, that is. We do not mean to suggest that all Americans were organized into sects and that any day now they will all be in castes, but only that some of the many sects there are around are becoming castified (or, to use the orthodox terminology, 'sanskritized').

** Ref. to SRINIVAS' seminal article.

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there differs from what is going on in Britain. Later we shall find that it is not quite as simple as this. Sects, it turns out, cannot in their entirety be transformed into castes. What is really happening is that just the Washington-based leadership, largely detached from its mail-order membership, is moving up towards the castes and, by their uncompromising demands, pulling them downwards in the process. But these subtle and crucial modifications will emerge as the analysis proceeds and, for the moment, the crude hypothesis will suffice. What evidence is there to support it? Let us give just two little bits, one from America, one from Britain.

An American Example. It is clear from the letter (Appendix A) from Mr. William M. Kane, Executive Director of the Association for the Advancement of Health Education, to Dr. David Blumenthal, Chairman of the Sub-Committee on Health and Scientific Research of the Committee on Human Resources, that the castification of some American sects is now at an advanced stage. The various groups: the ACP, the ACHPER, the APHA, the ISHL, the NCPT, the NTA and the NPM: long ago bumped up against one another in the corridors of power and soon had themselves organised into the ANHE (itself an Association of the ACHPER). The regulatory legislation: the National Disease Prevention and Health Promotion Act: is already on the statute book (No. 3115) and it is very clear that this letter is a confident bid for the government money that is already on the table - a bid, not of course for the money as such (filthy stuff!), but for the fulfilment of the desire to prevent and minimise human suffering.

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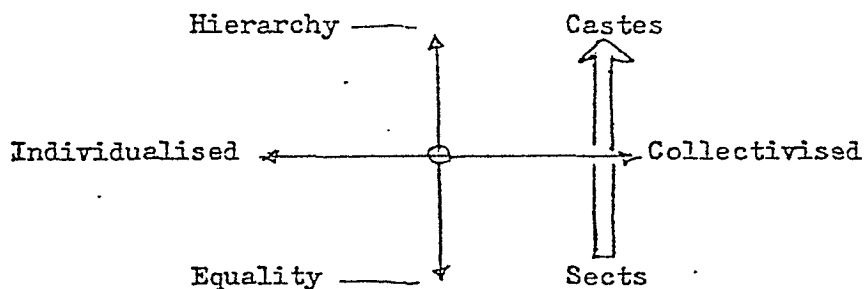
A British Example. Since British ASH sprang into existence fully-fledged and so pre-empted the formation of anti-smoking sects and ~~this~~ their subsequent transformation into anti-smoking castes, there is little chance of it bumping up against other anti-groups with which to negotiate relationships. But, of course, one part of the anti-smoking campaign is concerned with passive smoking - with the unwarranted pollution by smokers of the one and only air we all must breathe - and at this point ^{British} ASH does not just bump up against but actually overlaps with another anti-group: the National Society for Clean Air. Were ASH and the NSCA just sects each, secure within its own wall of virtue, would simply ignore the other's existence. To test whether this is so, /^{we} wrote to the NSCA asking them, among other things, whether they took any position on smoking. It is clear from their reply / (Appendix B) that they have bumped up against ASH and that they have each breached their walls of virtue and reached an agreement which is to their mutual advantage - they have, very neatly and very precisely, divided the atmosphere between them and they have worked out clearly-defined procedures to follow whenever they come up against this pneumatic frontier. *

*In a similar way, War on Want refers its followers to ASH at the appropriate moment (see War on Want's pamphlet about its Tobacco Campaign).

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At least this hypothesis in terms of sects and castes gets rid of that dreary old refrain that its only a matter of time before what is happening in the States happens in ^{Britain} as well. In fact it puts this refrain into reverse, for it would appear that Britain is already in the state towards which America (thanks to the castification of its sects) may at present ^{be} travelling. But ^{we} would not want to argue that, since Britain is already there, she must have travelled this self-same route. There is more than one way of ending up with this sort of social arrangement, and this process whereby sects are transformed into castes will only be unilineal if the social contexts of those involved remain strongly collectivised at all times. Since there is no reason why this has to be so, we must consider a whole new dimension of variation: that running from the strongly collectivised context to the strongly individualised context.



Now it may be that this deep explanation is taking us too far away from our immediate concern with anti-smoking groups and that, having followed it this far, we have followed it far enough. On the other hand, since it promises to give a decent explanation (rather than just a re-description) of what is going on in anti-smoking and similar areas, it is —————> interesting sociologically.

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The anthropological hypothesis in terms of social context, cosmology and power would appear to offer some great opportunities here, particularly when it comes to sorting out what the end results (rather than the motivations, or intentions, of their leaders and members) of these anti-movements are likely to be.

Examples (a) As / groupings transform themselves into castes some, inevitably, get left behind. A high status caste is interested in establishing relations with its equals, or betters. So far as egalitarian and ~~important~~ ^{impotent} sects are concerned, the caste's interests are best served by the imposition of a non-relationship; the higher castes just reject the untouchables. / British ASH actually arrived on the scene as a high status caste but it did not have the anti-smoking field entirely to itself. Already there was a little sect - the National Society of Non-Smokers, itself an indirect descendant of the venerable Anti-Tobacco Society. Though it claims to collaborate with the Health Council, it appears to be almost completely ignored by ASH. ASH is very careful to steer clear of anything approaching the lunatic fringe and would, I suspect, be only too thankful not to be associated with the NSNS's recent much publicised (and much derided) call for a law against smoking and driving. (Appendix C.)

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(b) A similar sort of situation - a sect and a caste, the former ignored by the latter - appears to exist in another 'anti' field, drinking water additives. There turn out to be two/^{British} groups, the National Anti-Fluoridation Campaign and the National Pure Water Association, and their walls of virtue overlap to such an extent as to be virtually coterminous. When, to this near-identity of concern, we add their opposition to a common enemy - the Fluoridation Society - the already surprising fact that they have not amalgamated becomes quite astonishing. But, if one is a high caste and the other an untouchable sect, then all is explained.

Their very names suggest this difference. One is pro-purity, the other is anti-anything that should be out getting in. In a sect the one aim is to maintain the wall of virtue, the one unifying concern the fear of penetration, of sorcery, of something nasty from outside getting in and destroying the soft vulnerable inside. The aim of the NAFC is:

The provision of national legislation to prohibit the employment of public water supplies for conveying any substance which has been deliberately added to the water for the purpose of influencing directly the growth, development or functioning of any part of the human body, nervous system or mind.

The witchcraft-obsessed Azande could not have put it better! Note that the addition has to be deliberate and that it has to be with the intention of getting inside you, into your body, your nervous system, or your mind.

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By contrast, the NFWA aims 'to promote the protection of public water supplies from any form of pollution or contamination... to draw public attention to specific instances of water pollution, both deliberate and accidental.' The simple concern with inside and outside is not evident here, and this is only to be expected if the NFWA is a caste since, in the process of becoming a caste, its wall of virtue will have been breached many times over. Concern therefore has to shift to the correct procedures that, if observed, will maintain the purity of the caste. If these procedures are broken purity is equally threatened whether the breach be deliberate or accidental and, in either case, the remedy is the same - ritual: the public drawing of attention to and the rectifying of transgressions of the purity rule.

We should expect sects to be egalitarian and castes to be status-conscious and hierarchical, and here too these anti-groups conform to expectations. The NAFC has just one minimum subscription rate; the NFWA has no fewer than 3 - one for Full Members, one for Students, and one for Associates. The NFWA was founded in the House of Lords, its President is Lord Douglas of Barloch and of its four Vice-Presidents, two are Earls and one is^a Viscount. The NAFC has recruited its eminent members from the House of Commons and not one of its officers is of noble birth.

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Sects (though they may do terrible things to their members) have little if any power to influence the rest of us - they follow the collectivist survival strategy. But the anti-smokers (and the anti-nuclear and the consumer groups and so on) do exert a considerable and increasing level of control over others. They therefore are following a collectivist manipulative strategy and must be up there with the bureaucracy and the castes emphasising status, prescription, purity and separation.

What we are looking at is not a social state (sects or castes) but a social process - the partial transformation of sects into castes. There is a profound difference between sects having the right and the freedom to do, within the law, whatever they like to those individuals who choose to join them and a situation in which the government gives those sects the money and, if need be, alters the law so that they can do those things to those individuals who do not choose to join them. Sects in themselves are pretty innocuous (and as American as apple pie) and it would be a mistake to put the finger on them as the enemy. The trouble starts when they begin to get converted into castes. So what causes this conversion? Answer: the expansion of government. Government bureaucracy, given the money, is certain to expand and, as it expands, it is certain to draw sects, or rather their leadership, into its orbit. Yet in America (and this is clearly revealed in the content analysis), these caste-ist emphases that should accompany such a transformation are not present and the rhetoric of the sect-leaders remains essentially sectist. Why should this be so?

The answer is that government, by the form that its expansion

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takes, can bias this process one way or the other. If it seeks to govern in a rather remote way, by listening to the castes who in turn are deferred to by the populace, then the sect-leaders if they are to tap power will really have to abandon their followers and transform themselves into thorough-going caste members. A more populist government, on the other hand, might seek to govern by by-passing the castes and listening directly to the people. In doing this they will erode the power of the castes and encourage an attitude of truculence rather than deference towards them among the populace. In such a case, government will meet the sect-leaders halfway and cut short their process of conversion into caste members. The government wants to listen to the people; the sect-leaders credibly claim to speak for the people. When government comes to meet them like this the power of the sect-leaders is maximised by not moving all the way towards the castes but by retaining the uncompromising demands and rhetoric of sectism. If American government is currently taking this latter bias while British government is taking the former then this modification of the original crude hypothesis will help to explain why America is so much more sectist than Britain.

The elaboration and testing of this modified hypothesis will have to wait until a later chapter but, so far as Britain is concerned, sects certainly seem to be pre-empted before they can be formed. The Establishment, it would seem, is alive and well and is as busy identifying and incorporating into its ranks those capable of causing the most trouble as ever it was. British ASI looks as if it is on the way into the Establishment (on the back of preventive medicine). The Tobacco companies - 'The merchants of death', Sir George Godder called

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them - may well be on their way out.

Interlocking Directorates

The NSNS was formed in 1926 and in 1930 it absorbed the Anti-Tobacco Society which, claims the NSNS, had warned about smoking and cancer as far back as 1876. It pioneered Stop Smoking clinics in 1957 and set up the British Anti-Smoking Education Society in 1967 to finance the anti-smoking campaigns in schools which they had started back in 1955.*

All this predates the 'official' anti-smoking movement which

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* The BASES is a charity, the NSNS is not. They really are a single group split only for tax purposes.

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began in April 1959 when the Royal College of Physicians set up its committee to enquire into Smoking and Health. Its first report was published in 1962, the second in 1971 and the third in 1977.

This 'official' movement clearly took a dislike to the anti-smokers who were already in the field for it set up its own anti-group, ASH, in 1971. The 'official' movement is a mass of interlocking directorates and the same names crop up again and again:

Medical Establishment Lords:	Lord Platt
	Lord Rosenheim
	Sir Richard Doll
Medical entrepreneurs:	Dr. Fletcher
	Dr. K. P. Ball
	Professor Morris
'Anti'entrepreneurs:	Mike Daube
	David Simpson

None ~~many~~ of these names occur in the directorate of the NSNS and the BASES. They go in for churchmen, celebrities, and clowns rather than serious medics. Baroness Summerskill, Lord Soper, and Lord Arran (all prominent members of the NSNS) did speak up in the Lords debate on the 2nd report but there can be no doubt that the medical Lords dominated the proceedings and that, thanks to their links with the DHSS and the HEC, government support was steered firmly away from NSNS and towards their own offspring, ASH.

* Sample: 'Carmen did more harm in the tobacco factory than ever she did in the bullring'. (Hansard, 1971)

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THEMES:

Our content analysis has shown that major conspiratorial themes, such as anti-capitalism anti-corporation, anti-industry and even purity versus pollution, do not emerge as very significant in the US data. The same-- though we have not done the formal analysis yet--appears to hold for Britain (except for War on Want's broadside at the tobacco industry,

←————→ Tobacco and the Third World: Tomorrows

Epidemic). Though there may be a bit of a lunatic fringe, the main weight of the anti-smoking movement is respectable, responsible, factual, socially-concerned, and circumspect in its avoidance of extreme or unsubstantiated arguments.

... we are a small pressure group with a loud voice... we are scrupulously careful to avoid talking the kind of emotive nonsense which, however much fun it may be to get out of one's system, does far more harm than good and gets anti-smoking campaigners (sometimes justifiably) labelled 'cranks'.*

(Daube, Mike. 'Action on Smoking and Health (United Kingdom)' in Smoking and Health Vol II. p.933.)

The tobacco industry is faced, not by a bunch of radicals, revolutionaries and cranks (though some of these sects may well be present), but by an increasingly well-organised array of the professional, informed, educated middle classes. Add to this the massive injections

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* Perhaps the 'cranks' are the NSNS from which ASH wishes to distance itself?

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of government money and legislation that the shift to preventive medicine* has produced, and the rationale of the anti-smoking movement becomes powerfully attractive. What politician could turn down the opportunity of saving 300,000 American lives every year? What is more, this is not just a pie-in-the sky promise. What the anti-smokers are saying is: "give us the money and the legislation and we will deliver up to 300,000 American lives per annum to you before the next election". They couldn't do that with drug addicts (or alcoholics or cholesterol-eaters).

But, just because the recruits to this new Salvation Army are respectable, educated, well-informed, and impeccably well-intentioned, it does not follow that they are right. Facts, as philosophers and anthropologists are always telling us, are values and, embedded in the unquestioned and largely unconscious assumptions of the whole anti-risk movement, there is one massive, factually dubious, and morally questionable value judgement.

Smokers tend to be impulsive, arousal-seeking, danger-loving, risk-takers who are belligerent towards authority. They drink more tea, coffee, and alcohol, and are more prone to car accidents, divorce, and changing of jobs.

(Smoking and Health Now: Second report
of the Royal College of Physicians
p.112/3)

* 'Cigarette smoking today offers us the most challenging opportunity for real preventive medicine.' (Lord Rosenheim in his much acclaimed maiden speech in the Lords. Hansard 1971.)

It was our initial reaction to this line that led us to suspect that here was a submerged (or implicit) cultural bias within the anti-smoking movement. If this is the case, how can we bring it to the surface and make it explicit? If it is there what does it mean - how does it alter our perceptions of what it is that the anti-smokers are up to?

Our hackles rose ~~because~~ this statement is so uncharitable: a deliberate rejection of, rather than compassion for, a disadvantaged section of humanity. Virginia Woolf once explained that she could get on all right with people like herself and she could get on alright with her gardener; it was all those people in between that she couldn't stand! At least she was honest, and at least she was prepared to pay whatever costs her adoption of this exclusive personal stance might entail. But the anti-smokers are less than honest, they want to impose their stance upon the rest of us, and they want us to bear the cost of it all.*

If this is what is going on, what sort of justifications would we expect to find being advanced for it? Something along these lines:

Smoking is socially destructive and smoking is an avoidable risk. A person who, knowing this, continues to smoke is choosing to accept an avoidable risk and is deliberately behaving in a socially destructive manner. Risk-taking is all-of-a-piece: if you smoke you will, in all probability, go in for all sorts of other nasty, anti-social, sexy, and pleasurable activities. You really are a despicable,

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irresponsible, selfish, hedonistic, parasitic member of society - you are not a clean human being and you are not a proper human being. You are in some way incomplete. Lest all this appears far-fetched, paranoid even, consider this characterisation of the fifteen year old school leaver who, it turns out, is twice as likely to be a smoker than is his fellow who remains at school to complete his education.

This association is partly due to lower social class, inferior schooling, and poor academic achievement, which predispose to early school leaving.

(Smoking and Health Now. p.112.)

This assumption that all avoidable risk is bad is characteristic, not just of anti-smoking, but of the whole no-risk industry. But is risk-taking all-of-a-piece? It may well be that smoking, like spitting, is destined to disappear in the not-far-distant future. As far as ^{we} I know, the disappearance of spitting was not associated with any sudden decline in the general level of risk-taking, and the same may well turn out to be the case with smoking. So what is the purpose of all the anti-risk rhetoric? Do they want to save others? Do they want to control others? Do they want to segregate and punish others? Do they want to extol their own purity?

cultural bias

If this submerged ~~theme~~ really is present then we should begin to expect that the anti-smokers are more interested in establishing and maintaining their own purity than they are in saving the lives of poor unfortunate smokers. If this is so, then our perceptions of them begin to change: they are not tambourine-banging Salvationists but nose-in-the-air Pharisees - 'I thank you Lord that I am not as

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other men are: arousal-seekers, danger-lovers, tea-drinkers, job-changers..... divorcees.'

WHERE TO GO FROM HERE? To begin with, most of what one looks at in anti-smoking is very boring and one has difficulty in finding anything to really get one's teeth into. Such clues as we have found to suggest that something interesting and surprising may be going on may seem a bit disconnected, but they do begin to fit together into a pattern if we postulate this one submerged cultural bias. Let us indicate briefly how the bits and pieces may fit together.

A classification of anti-group aims in terms of strategy, social context and cosmology. This would provide the direct connection between the organisation aspect of the research and the themes aspect: between society and culture.

the
two collectivist strategies that concern us here are the survival strategy (appropriate to the sect) and the manipulative strategy (appropriate to the caste). Both, in contrast to individualist strategies, require the effacement of the individual. Individuals do not act as such but as spokespersons for, or representatives of, the group.

Sects to survive have to resist fission and maintain recruitment. Fission can best be resisted by combining an emphasis on egalitarianism with a single unifying issue.

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In this way, the members enclose themselves with a wall of virtue. This is fine for fostering unity and equality but it creates an obstacle to recruitment since recruits, somehow or other, will have to be transferred from the nasty predatory outside, through or over the wall of virtue, into the soft vulnerable inside. Salvation is the ideal mechanism for achieving this: crossing the wall is paralleled by a sudden and visible change in the person who crosses it - he sees the light, the sinner is saved... the smoker sees the folly of his ways and kicks the habit.

Castes don't worry themselves about recruitment; not being egalitarian, they are concerned with quality not quantity. Castes are interested in collective manipulation and this is secured by maintaining purity and status: by a continuous scrupulously impersonal insistence on the rules being observed, on the proper procedures being followed... on the correct unequal relationships between groups being affirmed through ritual and sacrifice. It is, perhaps, a mistake to speak of a caste. Rather, as sects (or, rather, their leaders) breach their walls of virtue and define themselves in terms of the relationships between them, so they surrender their autonomy and coalesce into a caste system.

A sect will begin by constructing its wall of virtue - by distinguishing the good inside from the bad outside. It will then invite all those who agree with its aims to come inside and those inside will then affirm their unity and their commitment to the common cause by individually trying to convert outsiders and bring them in as well. But there are dangers in this: sect members are very mindful of the metaphor about the one rotten apple in the barrel - hence the need

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for clear-cut and visible conversion.

The strategy of a group receives expression in its aims, and the simpler the issue(s) the easier it will be to express and act upon these aims in an egalitarian and unifying manner. But strategy and aims, though vital, are not all that the members of a group will need. They will also need to justify their aims and their deeds, both to themselves and to others. This they will do by denying the necessity for it: there is, they will argue, no need to justify what they are saying - it is self-evident. So justifications ^{tend to} come out as different, and often conflicting, versions of self-evident truths. In other words, justifications are ^{largely} embedded in ideas of nature: in shared assumptions about how the world is and of man's place within it.

(Hence the need to identify, and bring to the surface, the submerged cultural biases ~~theses~~). Ideas of nature may be expected to vary systematically as we go from sects to castes (and as we go from sects and castes to other, less collectivised, viable social arrangements).

The tiny National Cleansing Crusade provides a nice example of a sect. First, the single issue: 'the safeguard of our Christian heritage'. Second, the wall of virtue (or, rather, in this case, dam of virtue) designed to 'stem the flood of Godlessness engulfing our beloved homeland'. The punitive measures advocated by the NCC make it clear that those on the wrong side of the dam are damned indeed:

restoration of capital punishment, the outlawing of sodomy, penalties to fit the crime including recompense and corporal punishment, opposition to all pacts, agreements and treaties

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that may weaken, destroy or nullify our national heritage
based upon common law.

But, at the same time, it is anxious to save those outside if only they will mend their ways: the group is prepared to welcome all those 'thinking people' willing to participate actively in this 'desperate cause'. (Note the justification: the assumption that people need only think to be convinced of the validity of the cause.)

As a sect (or, rather, its leadership) becomes transformed into a caste so these strategic preoccupations with survival give way to the maximising of group-mediated power and control: the securing, not of recruits, but of legislation and of control over how government funds should be spent. In general, castes are concerned with securing credibility for their view of how the world should be and enforcing prescriptive social rules designed to prevent people from discovering for themselves whether or not the world really is like that but, in a democracy, this is how it is done. Equality gives way to hierarchy, quantity to quality, the wall of virtue to 'pacts, agreements and treaties'.... *single issues to complex webs of interlocking concerns.*

Thus ^{British}ASH goes for influential corporate members, for government ministers and medical lords, and dismisses as 'cranks' the clowns, the churchmen and the show-biz celebrities who swell the ranks of the NSNS. ASH negotiates pacts, agreements and ^{treaties}~~seats~~ all over the place and the original single issue of smoking is now but one component within the multi-issue concern of preventive medicine - of 'the health wellness concept'.

But War on Want's stance would seem to be much more sect-like: anti-trans-nationals, anti-exploitation and pro the vulnerable poor

in the Third World - anti-bigness, pro 'small is beautiful.' It is also very joinable, overtly democratic and egalitarian, very virtuous and convinced that it is right, and fearful of penetration.

Moreover, they have recently got into trouble with the Charity Commissioners for being too political. Their book on the tobacco industry might well be worth a content analysis.

The problem of separate aims. Anti-smoking groups can pursue very different aims: they can campaign for the recognition and enforcement of non-smokers' rights or they can strive to reduce the level of smoking. Many (such as ASH) try to do both and will argue that each is but a facet of the whole. But this is not necessarily so. If the level of smoking is reduced then (assuming the present statistics and the interpretation placed on them are correct) lives will be saved and, the more that level is reduced, the more lives will be saved. At the same time, since there will be less smoking going on, there will be fewer infringements of non-smokers' rights. But the enforcement of non-smokers' rights need have no effect on the number of deaths caused by smoking. (Indeed, it would not be too difficult to argue that it would actually increase the death rate. Smokers, denied the opportunity to smoke in public places, might well rush off and chain smoke themselves to death on very high tar cigarettes the moment they escaped from the restricted areas.)

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Given this asymmetry between the two aims, the charitable strategy for the anti-smokers to choose would be to strive to reduce the

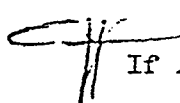
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level of smoking since this would both save lives and reduce the nuisance caused to non-smokers by smokers. At the same time, but subsidiary to this main aim, they might list as one of the disadvantages of the habit the fact that the inconsiderate smoker may damage, not just his health, but his social life as well. But many groups, especially in the States, do not choose the charitable option; they focus almost entirely on non-smokers' rights.

Both of these strategies are, ^{we} think, sect strategies. They emphasise a single anti-smoking issue. But ASH (and the HEC) for instance emphasise both issues and their strategy is based on the assumption that they are not separable issues but are simply two aspects of ^{some} ~~the~~ whole. The basis for this assumption is the separation of non-smokers and smokers into social types: the former responsible risk-shunning and accident-avoiding; the latter irresponsible, risk-taking and accident prone. Non-smokers are seen as socially whole (and wholesome); smokers are seen as socially incomplete (and unwholesome). So the two issues become one and the same by introducing the idea of the social nastiness of the smoker. We arrive at that ancient ideal in which nature provides an undistorting mirror for society: 'Good is beautiful and bad is ugly'.

Equipped with this ideal, and following the rational path that it has paved, the anti-smokers can now segregate and legislate against the nasty smokers; they can put those awful people firmly in their proper place and take the credit for saving their lives as well!

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These people.

 If ASH/HEC/DHSS etc. are coalescing into a caste system, we should expect social contexts with strong group and a high level of prescription, we should expect manipulative collectivist strategies, and we should expect these strategies to be justified by a ^{'mirror'} cosmology within which nature and society are clearly separated yet within which the complex arrangement of the one is isomorphous with the complex arrangement of the other. So we should expect a great deal of boundary erection and status differentiation.

This would be in marked contrast to the Civil Rights Movement, the Women's Movements and the Gay Liberation Movements which typify the boundary demolition that was so characteristic a feature of the expansive '60s (in Britain, at least). Now, just a decade after the gays came out of the closet, anti-smokers speak openly of driving smokers into the closet.

The closet is the perfect metaphor for boundary distinction plus status distinction. If smoking offers an ideal field for the new Salvation Army, it also provides a wonderful opportunity to the new Pharisees. Many people, it seems, feel the need for closets and for distinct categories of persons to put in them. As Sir Christopher Foxley-Norris the chairman of FOREST (Freedom Organisation for the Right to Enjoy Smoking Tobacco) has pointed out: you can advertise for a non-smoker but it is against the law to advertise for a non-woman or a non-white.* Anti-smoking is just about the only kind of

* As reported in The Daily Mail 19th June 1979. But, of course, you are born a non-woman or a non-white whereas you can choose to be a non-smoker. Or so the anti-smokers would claim. Though it would appear that, the lower your social class, the less choice you have.

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discrimination that is still legal: if you can't segregate blacks, or women, or Jews, or queers any more, then at least you can segregate smokers.

Now, if the anti-smoking movement is largely middle-class and if it is pursuing two separate aims - helping citizens to save their own lives and segregating the nasty only partly human smokers from the clean wholesome non-smokers - it might appear that it is heading for trouble: that the pursuit of separate aims will lead to internal conflict. Since smokers belong to all classes, the new segregation is going to cut across, rather than reinforce, class separations. At the same time, collective salvation will come to all those who reject smoking, regardless of their class affiliations. Collective salvation threatens to cut right across salvation by social class and, if anti-smoking is to be used as a way of imposing status differentials, it looks as if Peter's barque will have to have two classes of passenger - first class and steerage (both non-smoker, of course).

Anti-smoking can only emphasise the nastiness of smokers: it cannot provide any gradations of nastiness that would distinguish between middle-class smokers and lower-class smokers. It would seem, on the face of it, to provide an ideal vehicle for sect formation but not for caste formation. And, even if some basis for distinguishing gradations of nastiness did exist, to act ^{on} it would seem inevitably to erode the solidarity of non-smokers as a group and to deflect their attention away from the common cause of maintaining the wall of virtue between themselves and the smokers.

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The absolutely wonderful thing about smoking is that these seemingly insuperable problems simply do not arise. It turns out, mirabile dictu, that those who give up smoking (and are saved) are middle-class and that those who persist with it (and are damned) belong increasingly to the lower orders. Just as ^{nature} ~~society~~ is divided into the higher animals and the lower animals, so society is divided into non-smokers and smokers. Already the chances that a non-smoker is middle-class and a smoker is working-class are high and, as the anti-smoking campaign gathers momentum, so they become even higher.

Is it wise to continue with present policies that pour energy into increasing this momentum? Would we not be better employed devising ways of slowing it down? For the direction in which anti-smoking is at present taking us all is purism and puritanism. Do we want to repeat the same sort of mistake as gave us the Modern Movement in architecture: Pruitt Eigo in St. Louis and the Piggeries in Liverpool? Adolf Loos, in his notorious essay Ornament and Crime, set the architectural profession on that disastrous path, and he did it by equating beauty with goodness and ugliness with badness: by assuming that nature was the mirror of society. Ornament, he said, was nasty; crime was nasty. An ornamented man, therefore, must be a criminal. How else could you account for the number of tatooed men in prison? And those tatooed men who are not in prison - do they not disprove the equation? No, says Loos, the mirror cannot lie - those tatooed men are criminals, they just have not been caught yet!

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Is the smoker ('arousal seeking, risk-taker, belligerent towards authority') destined to become the tatooed man of the 1980's?

Perhaps the most remarkable, and the most perturbing, feature of the anti-smoking movement is its differential success. The rate of giving up smoking varies directly with socio-economic status. The professional (particularly the medical professional) 'middle-classes' save themselves: the lower orders do not. As smoking becomes more and more despicable and as the upper classes abandon it and the working classes (despite the efforts of their betters) stick with it, so the temptation to regard 'these people' as wilfully pig-ignorant, unresponsive and ungrateful becomes less and less easy to resist.

'After all I've done for you'... 'You've only yourself to blame'... 'I can do no more'... 'you've brought this on yourself'... 'you just will not listen'... 'I've washed my hands of you'... 'It all just goes to show that you can't make a silk purse out of a pig's ear'.

Far-fetched? /^{we} don't think so. The statistics on class and giving up smoking are undisputed and spectacular, yet where is the research into why this should be so? Who has taken the trouble to go out and ask why the need of the working man and woman to smoke should be so much greater than that of the educated professional? ^{*} At the same time as this charitable research is conspicuous by its absence, there has been a tremendous intensification, in advertising and in TV programmes aimed at 'these people', of propaganda emphasising the nastiness of the smoking habit.

Sir Christopher (Foxley-Norris, the founder of FOREST)... was goaded into action by a TV documentary which branded smokers as 'an unacceptable class of person'.

(As reported in The Daily Mail 19th June 1979.)

*The answer, of course, is that there is no need for such research. Given the cultural bias of the anti-smoker, the reason to him is self-evident; these people are incomplete: incomplete in education, incomplete in achievement...incomplete in social graces. In the caste-ist terminology of a smiliar professional, the social worker, they have inadequate personal qualities.

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If smoking is harmful to health, then those who are concerned for the public welfare should take care to distinguish between the charitable and the uncharitable advocacies of the anti-smoking movement. They should give support to the charitable advocacies - those that aim to help the unfortunate and disadvantaged smoker - and they should steer well clear of the uncharitable advocacies - those that aim to turn smokers into untouchables.

Smoking as an ideal issue for sects and castes

Spitting, one suspects is not very addictive. Once the spitter decides he wants to give up spitting, it is probably not too difficult for him to do so. The drug addict and the alcoholic stand at the other extreme - it is very difficult for them to kick their habits. The smoker lies somewhere between the spitter and the junkie and provides the ideal client for the new Salvation Army. Hopeless cases are no use; what is wanted is success - a high level of lives saved (or credibly claimed as saved). But, at the same time, it has to be a difficult and, ideally, protracted battle. There is no point in mobilising all these forces for a walkover.

What they need to convince us of is that they can save thousands of lives but that to do so requires effort, commitment, time and money: these resources will have to be directed to their cause. If they were a sect, they might say this but it wouldn't happen. If they are a caste, the chances are it will happen.

Entrepreneurs and the absolutes/negotiables frontier. Of all the anti-smoking phenomena, the entrepreneurialism of the group leaders is the

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most interesting. Active supporters of anti-smoking groups must be strongly committed to their groups' aims. If they are grouped into sects, then their motive is not status and control but to fight (or, rather, fight off) power, bigness and inequality. If they are grouped into castes, their motive is group power via status, inequality and prescription - the fighting of individualism, openness, competition... risk. Such individuals, we could say, occupy social contexts with a strong group component: they are all well to the right hand side of the diagram. But is everything that is going on in anti-smoking over towards this collectivised side? Is it not possible that the leaders may be entrepreneurs and just out for themselves? Rampant individualism in the midst of such collectivist fervour might appear rather unlikely but in anti-smoking, the unexpected happens! For sheer opportunism, enterprise, and the carving out of career structures and of whole professions which previously did not exist it would be difficult to match some of the leaders of the anti-smokers.

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At first glance, what seems to be happening in America is a shift from sectism to caste-ism.* Initially, there are a lot of unconnected sects, each one surrounded by its own wall of virtue. In various ways, these sects bump up against one another and become aware of overlaps of interest that, if not sorted out, threaten to breach their walls of virtue. The leaders of these sects bump up against one another, quite literally, on their ways in and out of the government offices in Washington and they soon come to see the potential breaches in their walls of virtue, not as terrible threats to be resisted at all costs, but as marvellous opportunities. The leaders of two sects negotiate a relationship, each with an eye towards securing an improved position from which to petition government on behalf of the members of their sect. As more and more walls are breached and as more and more mutually advantageous agreements between sects are negotiated, so equality gives way to hierarchy and sects, step by gradual step, are themselves transformed into castes. What energy source, we may ask, provides the fuel for this process - sanskritization, to give it its proper name** - by which sects are converted into castes? The energy source is government and the fuel is government money and regulatory legislation.

That, very briefly, is our first formulation of the deep hypothesis for explaining what is going on in America and how what is going on

* An aggregate shift, that is. We do not mean to suggest that all Americans were organized into sects and that any day now they will all be in castes, but only that some of the many sects there are around are becoming castified (or, to use the orthodox terminology, 'sanskritized').

** Ref. to SRINIVAS' seminal article.

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there differs from what is going on in Britain. Later we shall find that it is not quite as simple as this. Sects, it turns out, cannot in their entirety be transformed into castes. What is really happening is that just the Washington-based leadership, largely detached from its mail-order membership, is moving up towards the castes and, by their uncompromising demands, pulling them downwards in the process. But these subtle and crucial modifications will emerge as the analysis proceeds and, for the moment, the crude hypothesis will suffice. What evidence is there to support it? Let us give just two little bits, one from America, one from Britain.

An American Example. It is clear from the letter (Appendix A) from Mr. William M. Fane, Executive Director of the Association for the Advancement of Health Education, to Dr. David Blumenthal, Chairman of the Sub-Committee on Health and Scientific Research of the Committee on Human Resources, that the castification of some American sects is now at an advanced stage. The various groups: the AHP, the AMFEB, the APHA, the ASHA, the DOFT, the HBA and the IPTA: long ago bumped up against one another in the corridors of power and soon had themselves organised into the AMHE (itself an Association of the AMFER). The regulatory legislation: the National Disease Prevention and Health Promotion Act: is already on the statute book (No. 3115) and it is very clear that this letter is a confident bid for the government money that is already on the table - a bid, not of course for the money as such (filthy stuff!), but for the fulfilment of the desire to prevent and minimise human suffering.

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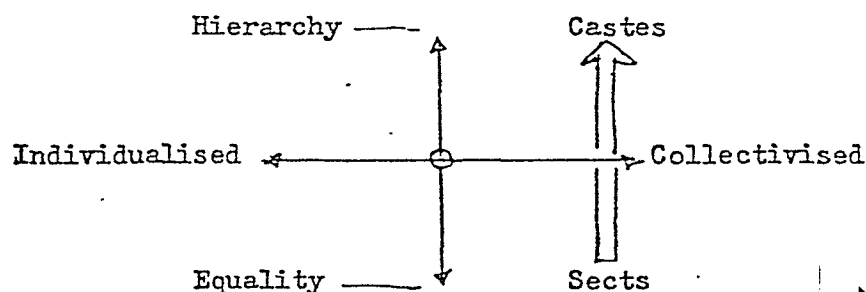
A British Example. Since British ASH sprang into existence fully-fledged and so pre-empted the formation of anti-smoking sects and ~~this~~ their subsequent transformation into anti-smoking castes, there is little chance of it bumping up against other anti-groups with which to negotiate relationships. But, of course, one part of the anti-smoking campaign is concerned with passive smoking - with the unwarranted pollution by smokers of the one and only air we all must breathe - and at this point ^{British} ASH does not just bump up against but actually overlaps with another anti-group: the National Society for Clean Air. Were ASH and the NSCA just sects each, secure within its own wall of virtue, would simply ignore the other's existence. To test whether this is so, / ^{we} wrote to the NSCA asking them, among other things, whether they took any position on smoking. It is clear from their reply / (Appendix B) that they have bumped up against ASH and that they have each breached their walls of virtue and reached an agreement which is to their mutual advantage - they have, very neatly and very precisely, divided the atmosphere between them and they have worked out clearly-defined procedures to follow whenever they come up against this pneumatic frontier. *

*In a similar way, War on Want refers its followers to ASH at the appropriate moment (see War on Want's pamphlet about its Tobacco Campaign).

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At least this hypothesis in terms of sects and castes gets rid of that dreary old refrain that its only a matter of time before what is happening in the States happens in ^{Britain} as well. In fact it puts this refrain into reverse, for it would appear that Britain is already in the state towards which America (thanks to the castification of its sects) may at present ^{be} travelling. But ^{we} would not want to argue that, since Britain is already there, she must have travelled this self-same route. There is more than one way of ending up with this sort of social arrangement, and this process whereby sects are transformed into castes will only be unilineal if the social contexts of those involved remain strongly collectivised at all times. Since there is no reason why this has to be so, we must consider a whole new dimension of variation: that running from the strongly collectivised context to the strongly individualised context.



Now it may be that this deep explanation is taking us too far away from our immediate concern with anti-smoking groups and that, having followed it this far, we have followed it far enough. On the other hand, since it promises to give a decent explanation (rather than just a re-description) of what is going on in anti-smoking and similar areas, it is —————> interesting sociologically.

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The anthropological hypothesis in terms of social context, cosmology and power would appear to offer some great opportunities here, particularly when it comes to sorting out what the end results (rather than the motivations, or intentions, of their leaders and members) of these anti-movements are likely to be.

Examples (a) As / groupings transform themselves into castes some, inevitably, get left behind. A high status caste is interested in establishing relations with its equals, or betters. So far as egalitarian and ^{impotent} ~~important~~ sects are concerned, the caste's interests are best served by the imposition of a non-relationship; the higher castes just reject the untouchables. / British ASH actually arrived on the scene as a high status caste but it did not have the anti-smoking field entirely to itself. Already there was a little sect - the National Society of Non-Smokers, itself an indirect descendant of the venerable Anti-Tobacco Society. Though it claims to collaborate with the Health Council, it appears to be almost completely ignored by ASH. ASH is very careful to steer clear of anything approaching the lunatic fringe and would, I suspect, be only too thankful not to be associated with the NSNS's recent much publicised (and much derided) call for a law against smoking and driving. (Appendix C.)

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(b) A similar sort of situation - a sect and a caste, the former ignored by the latter - appears to exist in another 'anti' field, drinking water additives. There turn out to be two/^{British} groups, the National Anti-Fluoridation Campaign and the National Pure Water Association, and their walls of virtue overlap to such an extent as to be virtually coterminous. When, to this near-identity of concern, we add their opposition to a common enemy - the Fluoridation Society - the already surprising fact that they have not amalgamated becomes quite astonishing. But, if one is a high caste and the other an untouchable sect, then all is explained.

Their very names suggest this difference. One is pro-purity, the other is anti-anything that should be out getting in. In a sect the one aim is to maintain the wall of virtue, the one unifying concern the fear of penetration, of sorcery, of something nasty from outside getting in and destroying the soft vulnerable inside. The aim of the NAFC is:

The provision of national legislation to prohibit the employment of public water supplies for conveying any substance which has been deliberately added to the water for the purpose of influencing directly the growth, development or functioning of any part of the human body, nervous system or mind.

The witchcraft-obsessed Azande could not have put it better! Note that the addition has to be deliberate and that it has to be with the intention of getting inside you, into your body, your nervous system, or your mind.

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By contrast, the NPWA aims 'to promote the protection of public water supplies from any form of pollution or contamination... to draw public attention to specific instances of water pollution, both deliberate and accidental.' The simple concern with inside and outside is not evident here, and this is only to be expected if the NPWA is a caste since, in the process of becoming a caste, its wall of virtue will have been breached many times over. Concern therefore has to shift to the correct procedures that, if observed, will maintain the purity of the caste. If these procedures are broken purity is equally threatened whether the breach be deliberate or accidental and, in either case, the remedy is the same - ritual: the public drawing of attention to and the rectifying of transgressions of the purity rule.

We should expect sects to be egalitarian and castes to be status-conscious and hierarchical, and here too these anti-groups conform to expectations. The NAFC has just one minimum subscription rate; the NPWA has no fewer than 3 - one for Full Members, one for Students, and one for Associates. The NPWA was founded in the House of Lords, its President is Lord Douglas of Barloch and of its four Vice-Presidents, two are Earls and one is^a Viscount. The NAFC has recruited its eminent members from the House of Commons and not one of its officers is of noble birth.

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Sects (though they may do terrible things to their members) have little if any power to influence the rest of us - they follow the collectivist survival strategy. But the anti-smokers (and the anti-nuclear and the consumer groups and so on) do exert a considerable and increasing level of control over others. They therefore are following a collectivist manipulative strategy and must be up there with the bureaucracy and the castes emphasising status, prescription, purity and separation.

What we are looking at is not a social state (sects or castes) but a social process - the partial transformation of sects into castes. There is a profound difference between sects having the right and the freedom to do, within the law, whatever they like to those individuals who choose to join them and a situation in which the government gives those sects the money and, if need be, alters the law so that they can do those things to those individuals who do not choose to join them. Sects in themselves are pretty innocuous (and as American as apple pie) and it would be a mistake to put the finger on them as the enemy. The trouble starts when they begin to get converted into castes. So what causes this conversion? Answer: the expansion of government. Government bureaucracy, given the money, is certain to expand and, as it expands, it is certain to draw sects, or rather their leadership, into its orbit. Yet in America (and this is clearly revealed in the content analysis), these caste-ist emphases that should accompany such a transformation are not present and the rhetoric of the sect-leaders remains essentially sectist. Why should this be so?

The answer is that government, by the form that its expansion

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takes, can bias this process one way or the other. If it seeks to govern in a rather remote way, by listening to the castes who in turn are deferred to by the populace, then the sect-leaders if they are to tap power will really have to abandon their followers and transform themselves into thorough-going caste members. A more populist government, on the other hand, might seek to govern by bypassing the castes and listening directly to the people. In doing this they will erode the power of the castes and encourage an attitude of truculence rather than deference towards them among the populace. In such a case, government will meet the sect-leaders halfway and cut short their process of conversion into caste members. The government wants to listen to the people; the sect-leaders credibly claim to speak for the people. When government comes to meet them like this the power of the sect-leaders is maximised by not moving all the way towards the castes but by retaining the uncompromising demands and rhetoric of sectism. If American government is currently taking this latter bias while British government is taking the former then this modification of the original crude hypothesis will help to explain why America is so much more sectist than Britain.

The elaboration and testing of this modified hypothesis will have to wait until a later chapter but, so far as Britain is concerned, sects certainly seem to be pre-empted before they can be formed. The Establishment, it would seem, is alive and well and is as busy identifying and incorporating into its ranks those capable of causing the most trouble as ever it was. British ASW looks as if it is on the way into the Establishment (on the back of preventive medicine). The Tobacco companies - 'The merchants of death', Sir George Godder called

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them - may well be on their way out.

Interlocking Directorates

The NSNS was formed in 1926 and in 1930 it absorbed the Anti-Tobacco Society which, claims the NSNS, had warned about smoking and cancer as far back as 1876. It pioneered Stop Smoking clinics in 1957 and set up the British Anti-Smoking Education Society in 1967 to finance the anti-smoking campaigns in schools which they had started back in 1955.*

All this predates the 'official' anti-smoking movement which

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* The BASES is a charity, the NSNS is not. They really are a single group split only for tax purposes.

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began in April 1959 when the Royal College of Physicians set up its committee to enquire into Smoking and Health. Its first report was published in 1962, the second in 1971 and the third in 1977.

This 'official' movement clearly took a dislike to the anti-smokers who were already in the field for it set up its own anti-group, ASH, in 1971. The 'official' movement is a mass of interlocking directorates and the same names crop up again and again:

Medical Establishment Lords:	Lord Platt
	Lord Rosenheim
	Sir Richard Doll
Medical entrepreneurs:	Dr. Fletcher
	Dr. K. P. Ball
	Professor Morris
'Anti-entrepreneurs:	Mike Daube
	David Simpson

None ~~None~~ of these names occur in the directorate of the NSNS and the BASES. They go in for churchmen, celebrities, and clowns rather than serious medico's. Baroness Summerskill, Lord Soper, and Lord Arran* (all prominent members of the NSNS) did speak up in the Lords debate on the 2nd report but there can be no doubt that the medical Lords dominated the proceedings and that, thanks to their links with the DHSS and the HEC, government support was steered firmly away from NSNS and towards their own offspring, ASH.

* Sample: 'Carmen did more harm in the tobacco factory than ever she did in the bullring'. (Hansard, 1971)

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THEMES:

Our content analysis has shown that major conspiratorial themes, such as anti-capitalism anti-corporation, anti-industry and even purity versus pollution, do not emerge as very significant in the US data. The same-- though we have not done the formal analysis yet--appears to hold for Britain (except for War on Want's broadside at the tobacco industry,

←————→ Tobacco and the Third World: Tomorrows Epidemic). Though there may be a bit of a lunatic fringe, the main weight of the anti-smoking movement is respectable, responsible, factual, socially-concerned, and circumspect in its avoidance of extreme or unsubstantiated arguments.

... we are a small pressure group with a loud voice... we are scrupulously careful to avoid talking the kind of emotive nonsense which, however much fun it may be to get out of one's system, does far more harm than good and gets anti-smoking campaigners (sometimes justifiably) labelled 'cranks'.*

(Daube, Mike. 'Action on Smoking and Health (United Kingdom)' in Smoking and Health Vol II. p.933.)

The tobacco industry is faced, not by a bunch of radicals, revolutionaries and cranks (though some of these sects may well be present), but by an increasingly well-organised array of the professional, informed, educated middle classes. Add to this the massive injections

* Perhaps the 'cranks' are the NSNS from which ASH wishes to distance itself?

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of government money and legislation that the shift to preventive medicine* has produced, and the rationale of the anti-smoking movement becomes powerfully attractive. What politician could turn down the opportunity of saving 300,000 American lives every year? What is more, this is not just a pie-in-the sky promise. What the anti-smokers are saying is: "give us the money and the legislation and we will deliver up to 300,000 American lives per annum to you before the next election". They couldn't do that with drug addicts (or alcoholics or cholesterol-eaters).

But, just because the recruits to this new Salvation Army are respectable, educated, well-informed, and impeccably well-intentioned, it does not follow that they are right. Facts, as philosophers and anthropologists are always telling us, are values and, embedded in the unquestioned and largely unconscious assumptions of the whole anti-risk movement, there is one massive, factually dubious, and morally questionable value judgement.

Smokers tend to be impulsive, arousal-seeking, danger-loving, risk-takers who are belligerent towards authority. They drink more tea, coffee, and alcohol, and are more prone to car accidents, divorce, and changing of jobs.

(Smoking and Health Now: Second report
of the Royal College of Physicians
p.112/3)

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* 'Cigarette smoking today offers us the most challenging opportunity for real preventive medicine.' (Lord Rosenheim in his much acclaimed maiden speech in the Lords. Hansard 1971.)

Examples:

(a) Dr. Charles Fletcher.

In 1959 suggested to Lord Platt
(President of the Royal College of
Physicians the idea for the first
Report and, in Lord Platt's words,
'we called together a strong committee.'

Dr. Fletcher was Hon. Sec. of that
committee. During the course of its
2 $\frac{1}{2}$ years of deliberation, he
published three papers on the
relation between chronic bronchitis
and smoking.

1971. The committee publishes
its second report. Dr. Fletcher is
still Hon. Sec. but the committee
has increased from 9 to 14 members.
More publications, with him as
the senior author (including one
with Sir Richard Doll as the junior
author!)

1971. Chairman of ASH.

1966-76. Vice-chairman of HEC.

Impressive entries in Who's Who.

1977. 3rd report of Royal College
of Physicians. Committee now swollen
to 20 members.

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(b) Mr. Mike Daube:

Began his career as Youth Director with the housing action group Shelter under its leader Des Wilson.
1971. Became director of ASH.
1979. Left ASH to become Senior Lecturer in Health Education, Edinburgh University.

(c) Mr. David Simpson.

Began his career as Scottish Director with Shelter under Des Wilson.
Progressed to become Director of the British Section of Amnesty International (under chairmanship of the Rev. Paul Oestreicher).
1979. Left Amnesty International to become Director of ASH.

He justified his move as follows:

In cost of lives, misery, ill-health smoking is a bigger problem than the one (torture) I am coping with here.

It is a convenient justification because in moving from Amnesty International to ASH he progressed from an office with a staff of 4 to one with a large London office and branches in the regions. There

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was, we suspect, a correspondingly
large increase in the budget. It
looks as though the wall of virtue
that protects the total commitment
of the ordinary mail-order sect member
is a ~~mere~~ mere stepping stone for his
Washington-based leader.

So a picture emerges/ (in Britain, at least)
of a lot of anti-groups and advocacy groups,
many of which are now in some sort of formalised relationship with
government. In other words, they are well advanced along the path
from sects to castes. As these castes have emerged certain individuals
have created career structures for themselves as directors or salaried
officers. Entrepreneurs, usually, are engaged in the business of
converting 'absolutes' into 'negotiables' (selling their grandmothers,
as they say) and we are tempted to believe that such a direction of
change is a defining characteristic of the entrepreneur. These leaders
of anti-groups and public advocacy groups provide an interesting
corrective to this tendency.

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Government intervention (for instance, in smoking behaviour, road safety, risk assessment and hazard management) creates great opportunities for individuals to devise the techniques - the ways and means - for the reverse process: converting negotiables into absolutes. The entrepreneur, therefore, has to be re-defined as a creative individual engaged in the business of converting either absolutes into negotiables or negotiables into absolutes. In the first case he is strengthening individualism; in the second case he is strengthening collectivism. Professionals and entrepreneurs are usually seen as diametrically opposed creatures but here we can see entrepreneurs engaged in the process of creating professions that previously did not exist (risk managers, for instance, or community health officers).

This is the most surprising and interesting avenue of all. Not only does the anti-smoking movement seem to be made up of very different kinds of groups but individualism--the very antithesis of collectivism--too seems to play a vital part: it looks as though these divergent collectivities are actually held together by entrepreneurial glue. But to make these speculations is to jump the gun, and first we must go back and take a closer look at the organization.

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Appendix A

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Association
for the
Advancement of
Health Education

1701 16th Street, NW
Washington, DC
20036
(202) 337-5535

June 15, 1978

Dr. David Blumenthal
Sub Committee on Health and
Scientific Research
Committee on Human Resources
4230 Dirksen Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20501

Dear Dr. Blumenthal:

The Association for the Advancement of Health Education (AAHE) an Association of the American Alliance for Health, Physical Education and Recreation (AAHPER) endorses S. 3115, the National Disease Prevention and Health Promotion Act. AAHE has a membership of 6,000 health educators throughout the United States. Members represent elementary, secondary and university educators; local, state and federal health agency workers; and hospital, clinic and private practitioners. In addition the Alliance membership of 50,000 supports programs aimed at improving the quality of living of Americans through education promoting physical activity, leisure time recreation and the health wellness concept.

Americans need comprehensive, sequential and continuous health education programs aimed at primary and secondary prevention of physical and mental illness. This position supporting health education has been endorsed by the American Academy of Pediatrics (1972), the American Association for Health, Physical Education and Recreation (1970), the American Dental Association (1960), the American Medical Association (1970), the American Public Health Association (1963), the American School Health Association (1966), the National Congress of Parents and Teachers (1970), the National Education Association (1963) and the National Parent Teacher Association (1970).

The high costs of medical treatment and rehabilitation necessitate that every possible consideration be given to programs aimed at prevention of disease and disability. More important than fiscal responsibility is AAHE's desire to support programs which have the potential for preventing and minimizing human suffering and disability resulting from disease.

We realize that changes may be made in the original proposal during mark ups. Although AAHE would encourage a comprehensive program similar to the original bill, we would support measures aimed at improving the health of Americans through education. Please feel free to contact us if our Association can be of assistance to your office.

Sincerely,

William M. Kane

William M. Kane
Executive Director
AAHE

An Association of the American Alliance for Health, Physical Education and Recreation

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nsca

national society for clean air

136 North Street, Brighton BN1 1RG, England
Telephone: Brighton (0273) 26313

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20th June, 1979.

Appendix B

JD/GEN

Mr. M. Thompson,
11 Belmont,
BATH,
Avon.

Dear Mr. Thompson,

Thank you for your letter of 13th June, requesting more information about the Society and its work. I enclose a copy of our information sheet, which gives details of the Society's background and outlines its activities.

As regards tobacco smoking, the feeling among many members of the Society is that while we have been making steady progress in air pollution control generally, it is a matter of great regret that people persist in polluting the air of public places with cigarette/tobacco smoke. For many years, this Society has banned smoking during its conferences, seminars and annual general meetings.

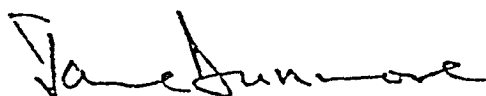
The Clean Air Council, which is a Government-appointed body on which the Society is well represented, has recently issued a statement on smoking in public places:

"The Clean Air Council is concerned about the environmental nuisance caused by smoking..... In recent years there has been a shift in the climate of public opinion about smoking in public places..... We feel that the time has now come for a major change of emphasis. The community should now aim to make non-smoking the norm in public places."

This statement was sent to owners and managers of public amenities and their representatives, who were asked to help the Council in its campaign of persuasion.

There is an organisation with the specific aim of campaigning on the subject of tobacco smoking and health - ASH (Action on Smoking and Health). You might like to contact ASH for further information on their work.

Yours sincerely,



Jane Dunmore
Information Officer.

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ANTI-SMOKING AND THE SANSKRITIZATION OF AMERICA

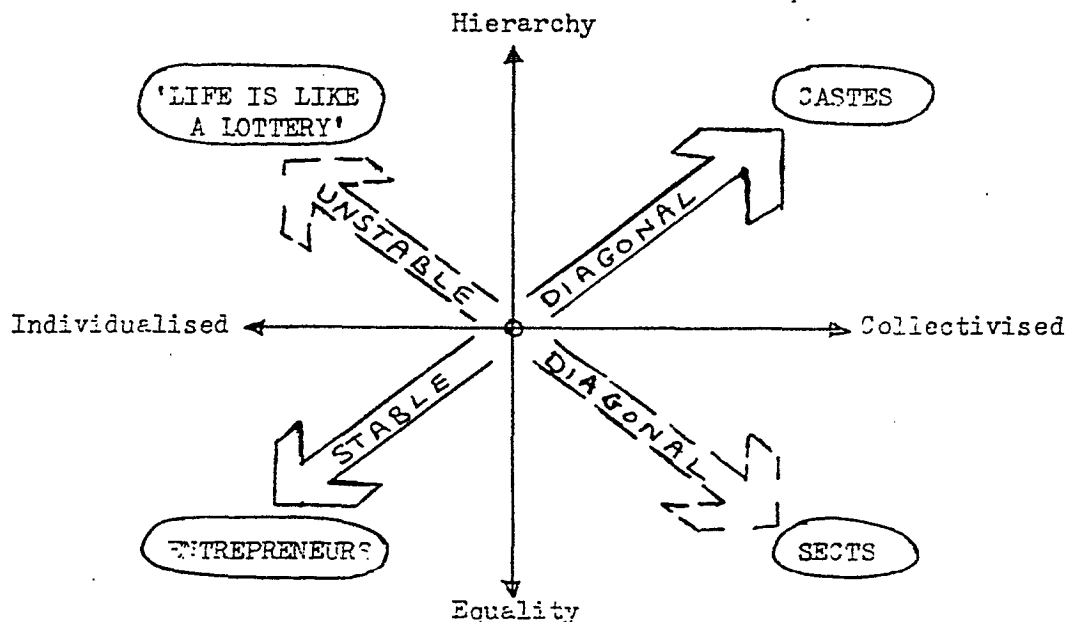
INTRODUCTION Though there are some broad similarities between anti-smoking organisations in Britain and the United States, there are, as well, some remarkable differences. The first and most striking is the vast proliferation of non-smokers' rights groups in the US for which there is virtually no equivalent in Britain. A second less obvious but in some ways more interesting difference is that concern with the health hazards of smoking is much more government-centered in the US than it is in Britain.

In Britain, the report that started it all was produced by the Royal College of Physicians - a professional body quite separate from government. In the United States, the equivalent report was produced by the Surgeon General: that is, government decided that there should be a report and, taking the initiative, called together an advisory committee from various professional health and charitable organisations - The American Public Health Association, the American Cancer Society, the American Heart Association, and the American Lung Association. Thus it would seem that in Britain there is an extra professional tier in the organisation and that this tier operates separate from, and above and beyond, the legitimate scope of government. It is the presence of this extra tier, and of the self-regulatory processes that it adopts in order to maintain its presence, that leads me to characterise the British arrangement as mature caste-ism. The presence of this mature caste-ism, I would argue, largely pre-empts the formation of groups focused around the demand for the recognition of non-smokers' rights. If this is so, then the proliferation of such groupings in America is characteristic of sectism.

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The asymmetry in this terminology is quite deliberate. Castes have access to power, sects do not. In the anthropological approach now known as 'grid/group theory' castes (manipulative collectivities) lie on what has been called the stable diagonal together with, at the other extreme, entrepreneurs (manipulative individuals). By contrast, sects (survival collectivities) lie on the unstable diagonal together with, at the other extreme, those whose 'lives are like a lottery' (survival individualists).



Castes, therefore, have first to tap power and then they have to maintain it: they have first to move up onto the stable diagonal and then they have to stay there. As they move towards this diagonal we might speak of immature castes and, once successfully stabilized there, we can speak of mature castes.

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But there is no equivalent process for sects. There is no 'peak of power' for sects to scale and then sit on the top of. Sects are just sects: neither immature nor mature, they lie there in a trough of impotence. If the members of a sect do begin to tap power, do begin to climb out of the trough, then this signals not its maturity but its transformation into something else (hence the instability of the unstable diagonal). If the members of a sect begin to tap power collectively, then this means that they are gradually transforming themselves into a caste: they are undergoing the process of sanskritization. If the members begin to tap power individualistically, then they are becoming entrepreneurs and the sect will, at some stage in the process, suddenly collapse. On top of this, sects are likely to be unstable even when they are not tapping power. The problems of leadership, recruitment, and boundary maintenance very often precipitate those sudden processes for which sects are justly renowned: fission and collapse.

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Before going any further, / must stress that this caste and sect hypothesis is not some rigid and precise classificatory scheme into which the data on anti-smoking groups must be forced to fit. Rather, it should be seen as a light organising principle for recognising and handling subtle changes within British and American society, and subtle and changing differences between them. So often, micro studies assume that the macro framework remains unaltered. With this assumption it is perfectly valid to explain micro differences ultimately in terms of macro differences: for instance, 'American anti-smokers do this and British anti-smokers do the other because American society is like this and British society is like that'. But we do not want to make that kind of assumption. We are interested in anti-smoking because of the

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insights it will give us into how American society and British society are changing. We therefore need some sort of picture - some sort of explanatory scheme - more subtle than that which says 'American society is like this and British society is like that'. We need an organising principle which can capture some of the dimensions along which both American and British society are changing. The caste and sect hypothesis is an attempt to provide such an organising principle.

SEPARATE AIMS we
/ have already distinguished two separate (or, at least, separable) aims which anti-smoking groups can, and do, adopt. They can press for the recognition and enforcement of non-smokers' rights or they can strive to reduce the level of smoking (and thereby, assuming that the statistics and the inferences drawn from them are correct, save lives). This distinction provides a convenient basis for making a first stab at sorting out the vast complexity of American anti-smoking groups. But, at the same time, it does more than just impose some arbitrary order on them: it reveals a major basis of organisation that already exists within them.

British ASH with its connections and overlapping directorates constitutes, / we have argued, a caste: very conscious of its high status and circumspect in its behaviour and in the company it keeps. Its nearest equivalent in the US would seem to be the National Interagency Council on Smoking and Health (NICSH). Just as British ASH is closely linked to the Department of Health and Social Security (and to its offshoot, the Health Education Council) so the NICSH is closely linked to the Office on Smoking and Health (previously the National Clearing-house on Smoking and Health). Such linkages are only to be expected in

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a caste system and they carry on across into all kinds of Federal and local government agencies and, in the other direction, into the World Health Organization - the international part of the framework that finally brings the British caste system: the DHSS/HEC/ASH/RCP: into formal relationship to the American system: HEW/OSH/NICSH. So, before looking at the NICSH (the grouping of high status anti-smoking groups), we should first examine briefly these organisations to which it is linked: OSH and WHO.

Office on Smoking and Health. This is not a social group (like, for example, GASP) nor is it a grouping of groups (like, for example NICSH). It is in no way joinable: it is a part of government bureaucracy. Mobile leaders and overlapping directorates are very much in evidence. The director is John Pinney who was formerly the Washington Office director of the privately funded National Council on Alcoholism (c.f. the movements of British ASH directors Mike Daube and David Simpson). Dr. Daniel Horn, who was previously director of the National Clearing-house on Smoking and Health, remains as Senior Consultant. Dr. Horn is, additionally, President of the Public Health Cancer Association of America and Secretary of NICSH (c.f. the multiplicity of offices of Sir George Godber and Dr. Charles Fletcher in Britain).

OSH is concerned with complex issues, it is non-local (Washington-based), and it is elaborately connected into the vast complexity of government bureaucracy. For instance, in an effort to explain (to the House Appropriations Committee) what it is and what it does, OSH has to list ten distinct functions (see Appendix A). There is no need to go into these in detail here; suffice to say that they are concerned

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with providing administration, promotion, coordination, liaison, development, information gathering and dissemination, assistance, expertise, and evaluation for the whole preventive medicine attack on smoking. With its centralization, its ability for control, its funds, and its complex network of connections, it is a formidable organization. It is the central nervous system of the health and smoking campaign - of the anti-smoking caste system -  to regard it as ^{simply} 'the anti-smoking propaganda arm of government', is to seriously underestimate its significance.

The World Health Organization. This really lies outside the scope of the present study and I touch on it here for just two reasons. First, to satisfy myself that it exhibits caste rather than sect characteristics. Second, to see how the national castes - DHSS/HEC/ASH/RCP in Britain and HEW/OSH/NICSH in America - sort themselves out and fit into this framework of international caste. The document listing all the participants in the WHO Expert Committee on Smoking Control provides a convenient vehicle for doing this (see Appendix B).

Its title alone virtually answers the first query: 'World Health' (global not local, concerned with the whole not just a part of it, complex issue) 'Expert' (professional not egalitarian) Committee (group of well-matched individuals each representing an organization or group, each with clearly-defined and non-overlapping spheres of interest and expertise) 'Control' (confident indication that power has been tapped). Reading further, we learn that the members of this committee are not all of equal status. There are, in fact, six distinct categories: Members, Temporary Advisors, Non-Governmental Organisations, Other

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International Agencies, Offices of the World Health Organisation, and Headquarters Secretariat. This high level of internal differentiation clearly indicates that we are dealing with a caste at the international level, but how do the national castes of Britain and the United States relate to it?

They fit in at the top two levels: Members and Temporary Advisors. The Members are, it seems, all eminent medical men each representing a national organisation concerned with smoking and health. Britain is represented by Dr. E. Crofton who is Medical Director of Scottish ASH which is under the institutional wing of the Royal College of Physicians. The United States is represented by the ubiquitous Dr. Daniel Horn, in his capacity as Senior Consultant to OSH.

One member is different from all the others - he is the Chairman - and his subtle status difference as primus inter pares is expressed in the listing. He alone of the Members is not given the prefix Dr. (though he is one) and he alone is not listed as representing a national organisation (though he is in a position to do so). This differentiates the Chairman from all the others and, at the same time, averts a potentially dangerous overlap with the British Member, Dr. E. Crofton, already on the committee. The Chairman is Sir George Godber, the Elder Statesman of Smoking and Health, formerly Chief Medical Officer to the Department of Health and Social Security, the Department of Education and Science, and the Home Office, and currently Chairman of the Health Education Council. It is indeed fortunate that the WHO exists, otherwise there would be a serious log-jam of talent in the upper reaches of British anti-smoking and Sir George's impressive career would have had to be

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cut off way short of its true potential.

The Expert Committee also wanted to call on the Director of British ASH, Mike Daube, but this creates a problem because he is senior to Dr. E. Crofton who is already ensconced as a Member. Fortunately a solution is at hand. This is an expert committee and, as luck would have it, Mike Daube is not a medical professional. Listed as plain Mr. M. Daube he can be fitted in at the lower level of Temporary Advisor and, within this context of expertise, it is only right that he should rank below Dr. E. Crofton. When they both move out of this special context then their statuses are reversed. Far from creating confusion, these reversals as they move in and out of this context actually serve to define its special nature.

These careful gradations and fine distinctions are, of course, part and parcel of bureaucracy. Nor do the distinctions between category membership stop even at the level of the individual; sometimes, in defiance of human biology, he too is divided up and really seasoned committee men, before they speak out, will state clearly which of their several hats they are wearing. All this is so familiar to us that we have difficulty in establishing 'psychic distance' from it: we are hard put to comprehend just how much extraneous matter, contradiction, confusion, anomaly, and ambivalence has first to be rejected before such a finely-integrated system can come into existence.

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There is, in Britain, a very successful and long-running advertisement for tinned food based on the slogan: 'Its the fish John West reject that makes John West the best.' As the 'voice over' recites this familiar

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refrain, a hand sweeps away an amorphous heap of unlabelled and ill-assorted cans leaving on the table a neat orderly pyramid of clearly labelled fishy products all conforming to the John West corporate image. This is caste; to really understand what is happening in the process of sanskritization we need to look, not just at what remains on the table, but more importantly at what lies scattered and rejected on the floor beneath it.

The National Interagency Council on Smoking and Health. The membership of the NIOSH, whilst retaining a solid core, has fluctuated over the years. In 1968 it had 22 full (or 'active') members and 5 affiliate members. In 1978 it had 34 full members. These fluctuations are interesting and a separate study of them should reveal something of the continuous self-regulatory process by which the NIOSH sorts out the quality from the riff-raff. For the NIOSH, though committed to using 'professional talents to bring to the Nation, particularly the young, an increasing awareness of the health hazards of cigarette smoking, to encourage, support and assist National, State and local Smoking and Health programs, and to generate and coordinate public interest and action related to this area of health', is very selective and does not by any means include in its membership all those bodies that are concerned with the problems of smoking.

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NIOSH membership (a sample of which is shown in Appendix C) falls into two well-matched parts: professional health and professional education. It includes government and non-government bodies in both these areas and, again, these are rather well-matched. In cases where this matching might have been impaired, the problem is avoided by the provision of a

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lower grade of membership: affiliate membership. This enables the National Student Nurses Association to join without upsetting the status distinction between it and the fully professional American Nurses Association. The same with the Boys' Clubs of America and the YMCA and the YWCA which, though concerned with youth, are not terribly professional. Similarly, the Public Health Cancer Association of America which would seem to threaten an overlap of interest with both the American Cancer Society and the American Public Health Association is accommodated as an affiliate member (it has to be a member because its influential President, Dr. Daniel Horn, is Secretary of the NICSH).

What, we might ask, have all these organisations got in common, and what is it that they haven't got that all the other anti-smoking groups have? The answer is that all the members of the NICSH are concerned, among other things, with the health hazards of smoking and want to save lives by reducing the level of smoking. Some of them may be interested in non-smokers' rights as well but what distinguishes them from the anti-smoking groups that are not members is that these latter are concerned only with non-smokers' rights. NICSH members have multi-issue concerns, non-members have single issue concerns. Thus, according to the hypothesis, the NICSH should have caste characteristics whilst non-members should have sect characteristics. (See list of non-members and their aims in Appendix D).

This result is remarkable. Starting with a mass of anti-smoking groups and organisations / ^{we} have simply taken away all those that have just one thing in common - membership of the NICSH - and find

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that what we are left with is not a residual category of all sorts of ill-matched creatures but a category every bit as distinct as the one we took away (except for two awkward groups which ^{we} / will deal with presently). That is, anti-smoking groups seem to fall quite naturally into two distinct categories leaving no residue to be labelled 'miscellaneous'.

As far as the caste and sect hypothesis is concerned, this is both good news and bad news. The clear separation into just two broad categories, one with caste characteristics the other with sect characteristics, indicates that anti-smoking groups do indeed organise themselves along these lines and that these lines capture all the variation there is, but at the same time, the very clarity of that separation - the lack of any dubious borderline cases - suggests that the dynamic part of the hypothesis - the idea that sects under certain conditions become transformed into castes - may be less valid.

Available criteria for separation. Taxonomists, long used to sorting out similarities and differences in the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms, might well think twice before taking on anti-smoking organisations. The universes that they habitually order are made up of entities that are much more alike than are some of the anti-smoking groups. Animals and plants, of course, evolve but at least they have the decency to do it fairly slowly. Groups like the CCAPUE can spring up and disappear before the taxonomist can even get to them. Indeed the social scientist may well feel that it is not he but the Smithsonian Center for Short-Lived Phenomena that should have been called in. How do you begin to classify creatures as different as the massive permanent national grouping

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of groups that is the NICSH and the tiny Revere-based group: Citizens for Clean Air in Publicly Used Buildings?

Since the data that we have on anti-smoking groups are inevitably uneven and incomplete, / ^{we} have started off by using just one key criterion for distinguishing castes from sects: complex issues versus single issues - the health wellness concept versus non-smokers' rights, for instance. Groups, no matter how different they may be, do make explicit what their aims are and it has proved feasible to classify all the organisations of which we have record on the basis of this single criterion.

At the same time, there is often information available as to whether the groups are national (or even global) or just local, as to whether their concern is for the whole population or for just a part of that whole, and as to whether membership is restricted to certain professionals or, in truly egalitarian style, open to all. These supplementary criteria tend to confirm the initial separation by issue. NICSH, OSH and WHO are all concerned not with minorities but with the whole - with the health of the world or of the nation. Of course, they or their member groups may be organised at the local level, but they remain very much centralised, staffed and funded as bodies with international or national aims and responsibilities. On top of this, they are professional to a man, both in central staffing and in the membership of their component groups. By contrast, groups that are localised and/or concerned with minorities and/or egalitarian are, it turns out, all single issue groups as well. The Jack and Jill Singles Club, for instance, is formed about a single issue - the nuisance caused to non-smokers by smokers. It is also localised; being a social club it could not

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function if the members could not get together and, in fact, they all live in a part of Florida. It also scores three times as a minority grouping: first, you have to be a non-smoker, second, you have to be a senior citizen, third, you have to be single. But, as long as you are all these things, you will be welcomed whether you are a professional or a layman. It is very definitely a sect, not a caste!

But some groups turn out to be less emphatically classified as sects:

- (a) GASP and ASH for instance, though concerned with but a single issue and with the rights of a minority*(non-smokers), have centralised offices as well as local chapters. Such centralisation, being hierarchical, would help to stabilize a caste but, since it inevitably runs counter to egalitarian principles, it threatens to destroy a sect. So a sect that is successful in establishing and maintaining centralised control is probably well on its way to becoming a caste. GASP and ASH, as we shall see, have not been too successful at this - yet.
- (b) Then CIGARSC, though formed around a single issue, operates at the national level and is concerned not with a minority but with a risk that can confront all women (and, less directly, men): that resulting from smoking while taking oral contraceptive pills.
- (c) Though most of these groups are egalitarian, welcoming all those individuals who satisfy local, non-smoking, and other minority criteria, some of them further restrict membership to those who have attained a certain professional level. DOC

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*Non-smokers, of course, now form a majority in Britain and in the United States. What we mean here by 'minority' is 'less than the totality': a misuse of English that has as its advantage consistency with much of the present use of the word. Usually preceded by 'non-smoking'.

(Doctors Ought to Care) and, perhaps, Environmental Improvement Associates (whose composition is heavily biased towards the medical and legal professions) are much less joinable than other anti-smoking groups.

Perhaps this absence of confirmation - this low score on sect criteria - provides an indication that some of these groups are a bit betwixt and between, and that some dynamic transformation of sects into castes is occurring.

This brings us to the two groups that ^{we} have avoided mentioning until now and which threaten to upset the whole classification: the American Health Foundation Inc. and the Health Research Group. Both these score zero on all the sect criteria yet they are not members of NIOSH/OSH/WHO.

The founder and president of the American Health Foundation, Inc. is Ernst L. Wynder, a pioneer researcher in smoking and health and a major national anti-smoking spokesman. Thus it starts off with high status - quality not quantity. This indicates that it is part of a caste system rather than a sect and, indeed, it is a research organisation supported by grants from federal government and other national foundations. In particular, it is heavily funded by the National Cancer Institute's Smoking and Health Program. There can be no doubt that it is highly professional and not at all egalitarian, that it is national (its headquarters are in mid-town Manhattan) not local, that it focuses on a complex web of concerns not a single issue, that these concerns are for the welfare of the whole population not just a segment within it, and that it is closely and unambiguously linked with the anti-smoking caste system - NIOSH and OSH. The fact that it performs highly

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specialised tasks for this caste (and that it is already closely tied to it) would probably account for the Foundation not appearing on the membership list of the NICSH.

The Health Research Group is affiliated to Ralph Nader's Public Citizen, Inc. and it too displays clear caste characteristics. It is far from egalitarian, consisting of 'doctors, lawyers and health professionals' and it too focuses on a complex web of concerns: 'several major areas of consumer health and safety - food and drug, product safety, health care delivery systems and occupational health and safety'. It is a 'public interest' not a 'minority interest' group: unlike non-smokers, we are all consumers. It is therefore quite surprising to find that the HRC, and Nader's wider organisation of which it is a well-integrated part, are not fitted into the anti-smoking caste system. Indeed, as we shall see presently, this glaring omission provides us with one of the key insights into how the anti-smoking castes and sects interact, and goes a long way towards explaining why (until now) there has been so little transformation of sects into castes.

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Appendix A

According to documents prepared for House appropriations hearings,
OSH

- "(1) Administers a national program to inform Americans about the dangers of smoking and to reduce death and disability due to smoking;
- (2) promotes and stimulates behavioral and biological research and epidemiological and toxicological studies by government and voluntary agencies on the causes and effects of smoking on health;
- (3) in conjunction with the Office of Health Information and Health Promotion (part of CDC), coordinates all PHS research and educational programs and other HEW activities related to smoking and health;
- (4) establishes and maintains liaison with other Federal agencies, private organizations and state and local government on smoking and health matters;
- (5) develops standards, criteria and methodologies for improved information programs related to smoking and health;
- (6) serves as focal point for information gathering and a clearing-house on the dissemination of information on health education, preventive health and related matters on smoking and health;
- (7) coordinates the development of materials on smoking and health;
- (8) provides assistance for educational programs on smoking and health;
- (9) coordinates research findings and provides technical writing and staff assistance to produce reports to the Assistant

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Secretary for Health/Surgeon General concerning the effects
of tobacco on health;

- (10) conducts surveys and coordinates and conducts evaluative studies
on the effectiveness of programs related to smoking and health."

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WHO EXPERT COMMITTEE ON SMOKING CONTROL/COMITE OMS D'EXPERTS DE LA LUTTE CONTRE L'USAGE
DU TABAC
Geneva, 23-28 October 1978/Genève, 23-28 octobre 1978

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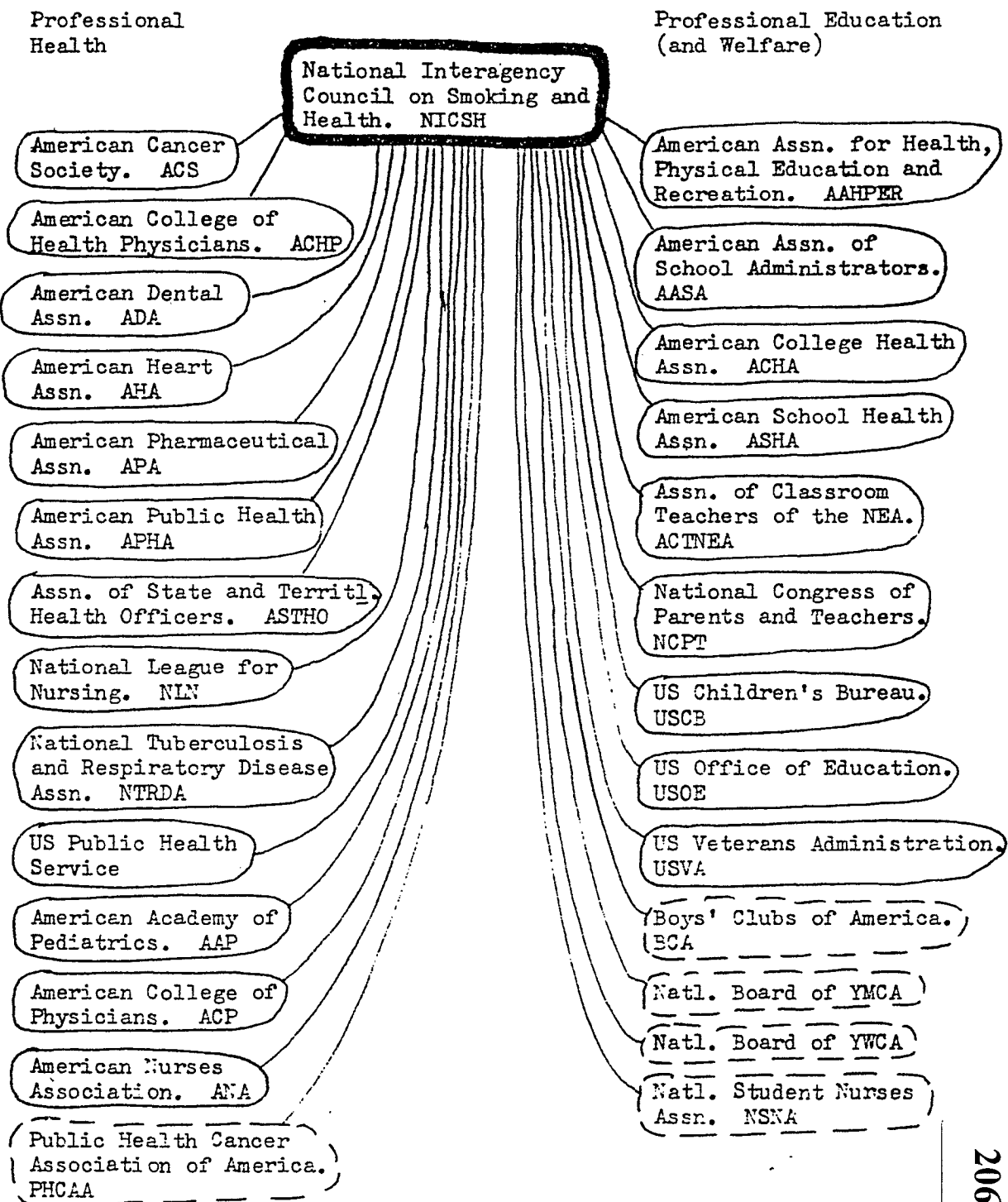
Igor POUSTOVOI, Director, Division of Noncommunicable Diseases/Division des Maladies
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Zbynek PISA, Chief, Cardiovascular Diseases/Maladies cardio-vasculaires

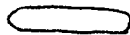
Toma STRASSER, Medical Officer, Cardiovascular Diseases/Maladies cardio-vasculaires

Roberto MASIRONI, Scientist, Cardiovascular Diseases/Maladies cardio-vasculaires
(Secretary of the Expert Committee)/
(Secrétaire du Comité d'experts)

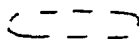
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Membership as at: Oct. 15th 1968,



denotes 'Active Members'



denotes 'Affiliate Members'.

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Appendix D

ANTI-SMOKING GROUPS THAT ARE NOT MEMBERS OF NICSH

ORGANISATION	AIMS	SECT SCORE*
Action on Smoking and Health. ASH	'Concerned <u>solely</u> with the problem of smoking and represents the non-smoker and fights for his rights using hard-hitting and effective legal action.'	SME
Alliance of Non- Smokers. ANS	Lobbies in Chicago for prohibition of smoking in public places	SLME
American Health Foundation Inc.	Research and education in the field of preventive medicine.	-
American Lung Association. ALA	Strong support for 'saving lives and for non-smokers' rights. (By 1974 was a member of NICSH).	-
Association for Non- Smokers' Rights. ANSR	Minnesota-based. Protects the rights of the non-smoker to a cleaner indoor environment.	SLME
Californians for Clean Indoor Air. CCIA	Sponsored California ballot to confine smoking to private places and designated smoking areas.	SLME

* S denotes single issue, L denotes local, M denotes minority, E denotes
egalitarian (open to all).

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Citizens Against Public Smoking. CAPS	Massachusetts-based. Tried to place a non-smoking referendum on the State ballot.	SLME
Citizens for Clean Air in Publicly Used Buildings. CCAPUB	As above. This tiny group and CAPS are closely linked.	SLME
Citizens Insistent upon Getting Action Regarding Smoking and Contraceptives. CIGARSC	Offshoot of ASH. Petitioned the FDA to require a package warning about the use of contraceptive pills by smoking women.	S
Clean Air Now. CAN	Student group in Rhode Island for non-smokers' rights on campus.	SLMME
Doctors Ought to Care. DOC	Miami-based. Aids doctors to prevent a new generation from taking up smoking.	SL
Environmental Improvement Associates. EIA	To improve the work environment and eliminate tobacco smoke as an occupational health hazard.	SM
Federal Employees for Non-Smokers' Rights. FE:SR	AID office-based. Presses for non-smokers' rights in the State Department.	SLMME
Fresh Air for Non- Smokers. FAMS	Massachusetts-based. Campaign for non- smokers' rights.	SLME
Fresh Air Singles. FAS	Florida-based. Social club for non-smoking singles.	SLMME

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Group Against Smokers' Pollution. GASP	Maryland headquarters with over 90 local chapters. An environmental action group specifically concerned with the problems of indoor air pollution caused by tobacco smoke.	SME
Health Research Group. HRG	Affiliate of Naders' Public Citizen Inc. Professionals working in several areas of consumer health and safety.	-
Jack and Jill Singles Club. JJSC	Florida-based. Senior citizen non-smoking singles social club.	SLMOOE
Maryland Alliance of Non-Smokers. MANS	Maryland-based. Non-smokers' rights group.	SIME
National Organisation of Non-Smokers. NONS	Chicago-based. Pressure group for enforcement of non-smokers' rights.	SIME
Non-Smokers Alliance. NSA	Denver-based. Group for legislation for non-smokers' rights.	SIME
Non-Smokers' Rights Council of Hawaii. NSRCH	Local group but with chapters in Ohio, Nebraska, New Jersey and New York. Presses for legislation for non-smokers' rights.	SIME
Non-Smokers' Rights Group. NSRG	Connecticut-based. Group for non-smokers' rights.	SIME
Non-Smokers' Society of America Inc. NSSA	President is Alton Ochsner MD. Concerned with passive smoking - the pollution of non-smokers by smokers.	SME

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Non-Smokers' Travel Club. NSTC	Offshoot of GASP. Trips and outings for non-smokers.	SME
Non-Smoking Miami Single Campers. NSMSC	Miami-based. Exclusive recreation group.	SLAME
Right to Breathe Inc. RB	Florida-based (founded 1976) 'to promote the right of non-smokers to be free from being required to breathe tobacco smoke'.	SLAME
Society for the Evolution of Non-Smoking Entertainment. SENSE	Connecticut-based. Non-activist non-smokers' social group.	LME
Seventh Day Adventists.	A religious sect that forbids smoking, drinking, wearing cosmetics and eating meat. Operates stop-smoking clinics. A <u>real</u> sect.	(SME)*
Mormons	Similarly forbid smoking (and coffee, tea alcohol etc.). A <u>real</u> sect.	(SME)*
Amish (also Hutterites and Mennonites)	Members forbidden to smoke (and use rubber-tyred carts, etc.). A <u>real</u> sect.	(SME)*
Society to Humiliate, Aggravate, Mortify and Embarrass Smokers. SHAME	Minneapolis-based. Not a real group? Aggressively promotes non-smokers rights.	SLME

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*In these cases the coding is more or less redundant since these organizations are life sects. Though not formed specifically to resist smokers,

Smoking and Health Action Coalition. SHAC	Arizona-based. Pressure group for smokers rights.
Society for Mortification And Smoker Humiliation. SMASH	Aggressively pro non-smokers' right advocating countermeasures 'to driv smokers into the closets where they belong'.
Society for the Suppression of Public Smoking. SSPS	Washington-based. Anti-tobacco and smokers' rights.
Students Opposed to Smoking. SOS	Pennsylvania State University-based. W Opposed to smoking in classrooms. 1 chapters elsewhere.
Survival Group. SG	Newport Beach, California-based. Use a humorous approach for non-smokers' rights.
Texans Against Public Smoking. TAPS	Presses for ban on smoking in public places.
Texans United for the Rights of Non- Smokers. TURNIS	Local grouping of local groups. Pres for non-smokers' rights.
Women's Christian Temperance Union. WCTU	Long-established national 'sect' oppos to smoking, drinking, etc.

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Students Opposed to Smoking. SCS	Pennsylvania State University-based. Opposed to smoking in classrooms. Local chapters elsewhere.	SLMME
Survival Group. SG	Newport Beach, California-based. Uses a humorous approach for non-smokers' rights.	SLME
Texans Against Public Smoking. TAPS	Presses for ban on smoking in public places.	SLME
Texans United for the Rights of Non- Smokers. TURNS	Local grouping of local groups. Presses for non-smokers' rights.	SLME
Women's Christian Temperance Union. WCTU	Long-established national 'sect' opposed to smoking, drinking, etc.	SME

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CULTURAL THEORY:THE APPROACH FROM THE OTHER END

INTRODUCTION One should never overlook the obvious. The first, and perhaps the most important thing to notice about anti-smoking groups is that they are groups. Whether they be castes or sects or somewhere in between, they are all collectivities of individuals acting in concert. That they exist at all is evidence that their component individuals have surrendered some of their individuality. They share, in some matters, a unity of purpose: not only are they agreed on certain debatable issues that in general individuals tend to disagree on, but they also recognise and proclaim to one another and to the outside world the fact that they are in agreement. So a unifying aim is the sine qua non of groups, and different kinds of groups are distinguished by different kinds of unifying aim. Sects are united and set apart from others by simple single issue aims; castes define themselves and their relations to others by reference to complex multi-issue aims. To this single definitive criterion: simple single issues versus complex multi-issues: we can go on and list a mass of subsidiary distinguishing features. These distinctions are wide-ranging and, sometimes, profound.

Castes are successful in tapping power, and they succeed by operating collectively: individuals effacing themselves for the benefit of the whole. To remain as a caste they have to maintain themselves on this peak of power and they do this by following a collectivist manipulative strategy. Civil servants, for instance, remain anonymous to the outside world. If an individual civil servant makes a mistake then this anonymity provides him with some measure of protection: the blame is thinly and diffusely spread throughout the whole and it is unlikely that

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his particular head will roll in retribution.* By the same token, it is unlikely that if he does something quite remarkable and outstanding he will reap much in the way of personal reward. Being a sensible fellow, he will soon realise this and avoid taking the sort of risks and exercising the sort of personal initiative that are usually the preconditions for such achievements. In this way, the collectivist manipulative strategy results in the discouragement of both individual under-achievement and over-achievement. What it encourages is clarity and the elimination of ambiguity: the exact matching of words and deeds-- the precise description of how things are, how they were, and how they will be. The Chinese, more than two thousand years ago, recognised this principle and, matching words perfectly to the deeds that such a strategy enjoined, called it cheng ming: the Rectification of Names.**

The British Civil Service is, in fact, explicitly based upon this principle. Early in the nineteenth century the essayist, Charles Lamb, actually used this Chinese model as the basis for the reforms (the last significant ones) designed to rid the Civil Service of the endemic nepotism to which over the years it had succumbed. But most bureaucracies, quite effortlessly and without any such prompting, find their own way to the Rectification of Names. The World Health Organisation, for instance, with its Expert Committee, its six distinct levels of membership, its Chairman unique in not being the representative of a national anti-smoking organisation, and its fine distinctions between Misterys and Doctors, has probably never (collectively) heard of cheng ming but it

* Alternatively, sometimes an office exists for the sole purpose of carrying the can. Such offices are of high status and carry suitably high salaries. When the short-lived Department of the Environment was created, the Minister (following the famous phrase of Harry Truman) had a notice on his desk: 'Doe - where the buck stops.'

** See McLeod, Katrina C.D. 'Grid group and the culture of Warring States, China' in Douglas, Mary and Ostrander, David (eds) Exercises in the Sociology of Perception.

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is a (collective) adept in it nevertheless.

Such adepts would recoil in horror from so unrectified an organisation as the Group Against Smokers' Pollution.

GASP is a people program, a grass-roots movement for the right to breathe air that is free from tobacco smoke. GASP is an environmental action group, specifically concerned with the problem of indoor pollution. GASP members include non-smokers, former smokers and people of all ages and walks of life, united for the common cause of increasing the breathing space available to everyone.*

Clearly, GASP is a completely different animal but what kind of animal is it? It is a collectivity and it is united around a single simple aim: 'The right to breathe air that is free from tobacco smoke'. There are no internal divisions and fine status distinctions here. Once inside, all is egalitarianism, adhocacy and moral fervour. So, if the collectivist manipulative strategy produces the Rectification of Names, what kind of strategy gives rise to all the grass-roots greenery of GASP? Unlike castes, sects have no access to power. Being located at one extreme of the unstable diagonal, they languish in a trough of impotence maintaining themselves by a shared opposition to, and rejection of, what lies outside their boundaries. Survival, not manipulation, is the name of their game and the strategy they employ is the collectivist survival strategy. The slogan of the British Ecology Party, the Green Party, expresses this strategy perfectly:

JOIN TOGETHER TO MAKE A FUTURE.

* The Ventilator (GASP newsletter) Vol IV No. 1. Spring 1975.

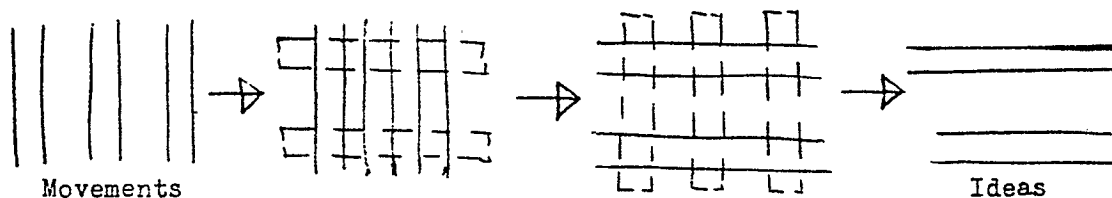
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unites the Environmental Protection Agency and the Conservation Foundation, on the one hand, with the NIOSH, OSHA and WHO, on the other. Each, as well, is only too anxious to keep at arm's length those awful sects within their movements with their lack of internal differentiation, their discordancy, their overlapping and unharmonious structures. Together they will echo the words of Confucius:

I hate the manner in which purple takes away from vermillion.

I hate the way in which the sounds of Cheng (a sect) disorder the music of the Ya (a caste).*

This is the trick - the revelation - of this sort of analysis. We begin with social movements defined in terms of contents and objectives, and we end up with social styles, defined in terms of ideas and strategies. Vertical monoliths of content dissolve away and are replaced by horizontal strands of ideas.



The question of whether there are linkages between these different 'anti' movements now becomes rather pointless. Of course there are! In its place we need to ask a different question which, at the outset, was unaskable: how do these horizontal strands of ideas, once they have been brought to bear upon a particular 'problem', come to interact with one another to such an extent as to generate something clearly identifiable as a 'movement'?

* Quoted by McLeod (op cit)

Survival - just a future, the only one possible - is what they are after.

Clearly, there is a linkage, if not of personnel certainly of ideas, between an anti-smoking organisation such as GASP and some parts of the Environmental Movement. The small-is-beautiful grass-roots communality is reflected in a shared rhetoric. Those key words 'environment' and 'pollution' crop up again and again, and it is a very simple concept of pollution that is invoked; it is the penetration by a powerful outside 'them' of just one single boundary - that enclosing the soft and vulnerable 'us': a simple wall of virtue with smokers on the outside and non-smokers on the inside.

But, at the same time, the whole point of this approach in terms of sect and caste is to avoid having to cut such monolithic (and really rather meaningless) chunks out of social reality. Linkages in terms of ideas, and of the various strategies that are associated with those ideas, cut right across such dubious entities as 'The Environmental Movement' and 'The Anti-Smoking Movement'. The Friends of the Earth is to the former what GASP is to the latter, and they have much more in common with each other (a strategy, an ideology, a rationality... a social style) than they have with the caste-ist poles of their own 'movements'. Here at these extremes there is, again, a congruence of strategy, ideology, rationality and style; the Rectification of Names

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It is perhaps a little unexpected, in a down-to-earth practical investigation of anti-smoking groups, to suddenly bump up against this deep metaphysical question: how to get from the world of substance to the world of structure*: for that, / ^{we are} afraid, is what it is. But this caste and sect hypothesis would seem to have done the trick for us; we are now in a position to analyse the specific, spatially and temporally constrained, and substantial anti-smoking movement in general, universal, and eternally valid structural terms. The only snag is: how do we get back again? Both social scientists and those with a more practical and pressing interest in the anti-smoking movement will not be completely satisfied with such timeless and content-less structural answers. They would dearly like to know not just 'why?' but 'why smoking?', 'why now?', 'when will it end?' and 'how will it end?'. We will try to get back into the world of substance, and answer these questions, in the final chapter.

In the first stab at sorting out the organisation of American anti-smoking groups / ^{we} took a list of all the groups and classified them according to just one dominant criterion (and then added a few subsidiary criteria by way of confirmation). While this had the advantage of ensuring that all the groups were taken into account, it had the disadvantage of not spelling out too clearly what caste and sect are and how they differ. To do this we need to focus, not on all the groups, but on all the criteria. So, having first taken all the groups and some of the criteria, / ^{we} now propose to take all the criteria and some of the groups. This sequence: groups first, then criteria: is consistent

* Ref. to Dumont, Evans-Fritchard etc.

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with the shift from substance to structure - from linkages between people to linkages between ideas.

The members of a sect and the members of a caste, faced with exactly the same sort of situation, are likely to do completely different things, the reason being that the former are committed to a collectivist survival strategy and the latter to a collectivist manipulative strategy. Given their very different initial orientations: sects in a trough of impotence, castes on a peak of power: adherence to such markedly different strategies is only to be expected. So we can expect to differentiate sects and castes simply by looking at how they behave: the members of sects will do one thing and the members of castes will do another, and they do their different things for very sound reasons. It is not that one lot has got it right and the other lot is stupid; each weighs up its situation, assesses the options open to it, evaluates them against its appropriate strategy, and then selects what seems to it to be the best buy. At least, that is the sort of process that, granting them the dignity of rationality, we assume must be going on. But in fact (and ^{we} / would expect this to be revealed clearly by the content analysis) they usually do not go through all this palaver. Without any of these seemingly essential stages, they just do it: they don't do just anything - they do, straight off, what they would have done had they gone through all the procedure first. It is as if they have some automatic pilot which, provided they don't over-ride it, will do it all for them. The automatic pilot is cosmology: their set of shared beliefs about how the world is and of man's place within it: and the on/off switch is labelled 'credible' and 'incredible'. Very early on in the content analysis it became apparent that anti-smoking groups

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spend very little of their time in justifying what they are doing. To them, justification is built into the automatic pilot: it's already there once you switch it on - it is self-evident or, in that marvellously revealing phrase, 'it stands to reason'. As —————> grandmother used to say, 'never argue with someone who knows'.

It is, of course, customary in social investigation not just to look at what people do, but also to listen to what they say. It is even more revealing to examine what they leave unsaid. Cosmology: the theories about the nature of the universe that sustain moral judgements: is one half of the explanation of how it is that two people in the same sort of situation can do widely different things and yet both be acting rationally. Their differing social contexts: the varying extents to which they are grouped and to which they are fitted into hierarchies: is the other half, for it is an individual's social context that determines which particular cosmology he is likely to find credible. So let us have a look, first, at what the members of sects and castes do and, second, at what they leave unsaid.

ACTION CRITERIA. We do not claim that the following list of caste and sect characteristics is exhaustive. There are, ^{we are} / sure, many other ways in which castes differ from sects and all ^{we} / have done here is to bring together all those distinctions that have already been touched upon, somewhere or other, in the discussion.

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CASTESSECTS

DOMINANT CRITERION Multi-issue
aim.

Single issue aim.

SECONDARY CRITERIA

- | | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. <u>Membership</u> Quality | Quantity |
| 2. <u>Internal organisation</u> Differentiated and hierarchical. | Homogeneous and egalitarian. |
| 3. <u>Relation to outside</u> Negotiated and clearly-specified relationships. | Opposition and rejection (unnegotiated). |
| 4. <u>Power</u> Tapped (collectively). | Untapped. |
| 5. <u>Stability</u> Follows collectivist manipulative strategy that tends to maintain its position on 'peak of power'. Mature castes inherently stable. | Follows collectivist survival strategy consistent with its situation in a 'trough of impotence'. Cannot mature and is inherently unstable. |
| 6. <u>Leadership</u> Many different levels, each highly specialised, provide clear multi-stepped career structures. Leaders tend to be mobile within these structures. | Problematical: leaders contradict egalitarian ideal. Maintain themselves by maintaining the wall of virtue: by constantly reaffirming group values, attacking those on the outside, spotting outsiders who have crept in undetected. No career structure so leaders are immobile. |
| 7. <u>Order</u> The basis of morality, hence rejection of disorderly bodies e.g. sects. Formal and | Rejection of outside the basis of morality. Inside the wall of virtue is unstructured and informal. No |

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Some aspects of caste. The NICSH is a real group - a group made up of representatives from real groups of medical, health and educational professionals - but it is very far from being a joinable group. Even membership of its constituent groups is restricted to those with the appropriate professional qualifications and membership of NICSH itself is really very much by invitation. It is rather like the European Economic Community - not only does an aspiring member have to be European, it has to go through a lengthy business of first finding out how it will have to alter its appearance in order to become acceptable and then changing itself until it is in this acceptable form. OSH, of course, is not really a group and, though intimately connected with NICSH (and with all sorts of other high-status organisations), is in no way joinable. Quality and qualification are preconditions for membership of the anti-smoking caste, and we might ask what the effect of these preconditions, upon those groups that are not clearly within its charmed circle, are likely to be.

The answer is that, if they are far enough away, they will not be interested in joining but that, if they are outside but quite close, they will be strongly attracted to it. In this latter case much of their energy will be devoted, not to modes of activity appropriate to a sect (rejection and opposition), but to transforming themselves into something more acceptable as a candidate for incorporation into a caste system. A tug-of-war develops with the aspiring member trying to drag itself up onto the peak of power and the caste that is already on that peak trying to avoid being pulled down in the process. The more egalitarian members of the aspiring group may not like the stuffiness and hierarchical nature of the caste to which they are drawn and may want to make it on their own terms. If they are successful, it means that they have won

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- elaborate structures. High level of prescription and elaborate rules.
8. Commitment Expressed in ritual and in adherence to correct procedures and proper channels.
9. Scope National or global. If there are local chapters, organisation remains strongly centralised.
10. Recruitment Not particularly joinable. Operates by invitation to those who have taken the trouble to make themselves acceptable.
11. Concern May well be for the welfare of all (though all may not accept that this is so).
- prescription or rules except those that emphasise boundary between inside and outside.
- Expressed in collective moral fervour, adhocracy, and spontaneous affirmations of shared opposition to the enemy outside.
- Tends to be local. If there is a central headquarters this creates problems with hierarchy and renders the organisation unstable.
- Joinable. Open to all who clearly subscribe to the single aim and who reject the outside world.
- Restricted to a minority - those inside the wall of virtue.

Some of these distinctions are obvious or have already been dealt with in some detail and need not detain us much longer but others are less immediately apparent and, since they illuminate many otherwise rather puzzling features of the anti-smoking movement, should repay further elucidation. Leadership, in particular, presents so many problems, and takes us so far into the whole process whereby what previously were negotiables are transformed into absolutes, that it will have to have a whole chapter to itself.

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this tug-of-war and that the caste, having failed to stabilize itself on the peak of power, will remain immature. Torn between the urge for status and the desire to increase its strength, it moves towards the unhappy state of that club Groucho Marx refused to join: 'I wouldn't join any club that would have me as a member'.

Compared to the British anti-smoking caste, the American is much less firmly stabilized on its peak of power... though it may be learning fast. For instance, as we shall see in the next chapter, it closed its ranks and let go of ASH at just the right moment and it is adept at creating internal hierarchical distinctions to avoid status conflicts and overlaps of specialist interest within its ranks. But it is very much attracted by numbers: it wants to have the big battalions on its side even though some of them are filled with rather dubious volunteers. It is significant that NICSH increased its membership from 20 to 34 Active Members over the decade 1965-78 and that this somewhat unseemly inrush contained some organisations less august perhaps than those that were in there at the beginning. For instance, the arrival of that sweaty upstart, the National Jogging Association, must surely have caused the odd raised eyebrow and the occasional wrinkled nostril among such ponderous and mature members as the American Cancer Society, the U.S. Department of Defense, and the American College of Chest Physicians.

The British anti-smoking caste, by contrast, is concerned much less with numbers and much more with quality. It is, at the same time, much less directly related to government and perhaps there is some connection. The Royal College of Physicians is absolutely central to this British caste, and it would be hard to find a less populist body.

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Rather than get too directly involved in the hand-to-hand fighting, the RCF has created (with government and other agencies) British ASH: brash enough to call itself 'a small pressure group with a loud voice' it nevertheless carefully avoids talking 'emotive nonsense' and keeps well clear of those anti-smoking campaigners that, behaving less fastidiously, risk getting themselves labelled 'cranks'. Similar in some ways to OSH, there is the Health Education Council, but it is concerned with wider and even more complex issues than is its American counterpart: not just smoking and health but preventive medicine in general. The HEC has 39 members with the ubiquitous Sir George Godber as Chairman. These members (see Appendix A) span an impressive range of social concern and communal responsibility and they are, in fact, selected from a large Civil Service filing cabinet in which are kept the names of 'The Great and the Good' - the list from which the members of the three thousand (in) famous Quangos (Quasi-Autonomous Non-Governmental Organisations) are selected. The very fact that such a list, with such a title, can exist suggests that these British castes really are mature: that they go for quality not quantity, that they know that their continued exalted existence depends on their regulating themselves in such a way as to remain 'good' in the eyes of the populace, and that they know when and how to distance themselves from those cranky fellows who spout all that emotive nonsense.

The American anti-smoking caste, by comparison, is much more government-centred, much more drawn towards weight of numbers than towards elevation of status, and much less certain when and how to keep out of the muck. Let me give an example.

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Environmental Improvement Associates, as one soon learns to expect from any organisation with so vague and grandiose a title, is a tiny localised group united around one specific, narrow, minority aim: to fight, in the New Jersey Superior Court, Donna Shimp's case in which she sought to force her employer to provide her with a smoke-free workplace. It would, I think, be inconceivable that figures such as Sir George Godber, Lord Platt, Professor Morris or Lord Rosenheim should join a British equivalent to EIA, yet EIA's Advisory Council is stuffed with the greatest anti-smoking names in the land: Aronow, Rosen, Steinfeld, Epstein, and even the great Surgeon General who started it all, Luther L. Terry (see Appendix B). Among the Consultants we find Daniel Horn (while still Director of the National Clearinghouse on Smoking and Health) and Robert E. Wallace (while still Executive Director of NIOSH), and all these brahmins of anti-smoking rubbing shoulders with such single-issue characters as John F. Banzhaf III and Betty Carnes (both of ASH)!

This contrast between the mature castes in Britain and the immature castes / in America is probably the most significant feature to emerge from this organisational analysis. Britain has the Great and the Good, America has only the Great; Presidents of the Royal College of Physicians can move on into the House of Lords, ex-Surgeon Generals can only join the Environmental Improvement Associates. / We do not mean to suggest that Britain is superior to America: whether mature castes are preferable to immature castes depends on whether castes themselves are desirable in the first place. But one fact, like it or not, is undeniable: castes

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wield power: they can enforce and shift the boundary between what is sacrosanct and what is up for grabs: and mature castes can wield that power longer and more effectively than can immature castes.

Having drawn this distinction, /^{we} must hasten to add that just because it is exemplified by Britain and America now it does not follow that Britain and America will always stay like that. In Britain, Quangos are currently in some disrepute and are being ruthlessly axed. Their too rapid expansion, and resentment of a resultant high level of prescription, which was not matched by a popular consensus, has dangerously eroded the goodness of the Great and the Good. British castes may well be sliding back towards immaturity. Whether American anti-smoking castes move the other way, up towards maturity, very much depends on how they handle their relations with sects such as EIA. If they pull back and, rejecting the narrow issue of non-smokers' rights, concentrate on the wider objective of saving lives through preventive medicine, then they will move towards maturity.

Some aspects of sect. GASF and ASH are by far the largest of the anti-smoking organisations that fall into the sect category, and it is because they are so large that they are prone to so many of those unstabilizing effects for which sects are renowned. Both have charismatic leaders, localised chapters and national headquarters, and a record of very rapid growth. Given these characteristics, the really interesting thing about them is not the way in which they are organised but the fact that they exist at all.

GASP was only founded in 1971 yet by 1976 it had 32 chapters and

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to Nader's Raiders - and, even though a sign on his desk reads 'SUE THE EASTARDS' (the perfect legal description of how to maintain a wall of virtue), Banzhaf must have found all that enforced equality and amateurish enthusiasm rather irksome. The local chapters must have been something of a burden to him (all that quantity and so little quality!) and, now that he is free of them, he will probably begin to move himself and his quite strongly structured Washington organisation up towards the anti-smoking castes.

Perhaps we should look again at EIA. Is it still as sectist as it used to be? Back in 1975 Donna Shimp was trying to get her case together and meeting with little success.

Many agencies I contacted failed to respond. Why? 'We didn't know what to tell you, we had nothing to offer to help - so we didn't reply!' ... I also found some organisations who didn't want to get involved in anything so controversial as non-smokers' rights. Some expressed fear that such action would offend corporate donors; others were reluctant to alienate smokers who were - or might be - contributors.*

It is clear from this that, at that time, both Donna Shimp and her EIA were deep in the trough of impotence. Her unsympathetic view of the castes - the many agencies she contacted - is typical of a sect member maintaining her wall of virtue. A more detached observer can see that those castes were behaving in a quite mature way: steering clear of minority - focused single-issues and eschewing any involvement that

* Address before the Annual Meeting of the American Lung Association, May 15th 1978, by Donna M. Shimp.

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centralised control is revealed by the effects of the crisis that hit it in 1977 when it lost the free use of this office. This event upset their financial balance so badly that they had to cut loose their 24 chapters and these are now independent and, presumably, going their different ways. This sort of fission in response to a quite small perturbation, once a certain critical size has been reached, is absolutely typical of sects. It is not the sort of thing that one would expect to find happening in a strongly centralised caste system.

GASP has, up till now, avoided such a crisis, probably because it does not try to exert so firm a control as did ASH (ASH has, for a sect, a fairly hefty and elaborate central directorate with Trustees and Sponsors, whilst GASP has little more than its founder at the centre of things. See Appendix C). Yet, probably because of this lack of central control, some local GASP chapters are beginning to go their own way. The very active Californian and New Jersey GASPs call themselves 'Group Against Smoking Pollution' claiming that they are not opposed to smokers themselves, just to their smoking. This is just the sort of fine doctrinal distinction that has precipitated the separation of many a splinter group from an expanding and too loosely centralised sect: the Exclusive Brethren from the Plymouth Brethren, for instance, or the Hutterites from the Mennonites.

For ASH, the loss of its local chapters was probably a blessing in disguise. Banzhaf, its Executive Director and Chief Counsel, is a professor of law at George Washington University and has trained and loosed into the expanding world of minority rights many a dedicated student. These are the Banzhaf Bandits - pale single-issue counterparts

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by 1977, just one year later, it had increased to 90.* Some of these are pleasingly euphonious: Niagara GASP, GASP of Miami, Sacramento GASP, and GASP of the Carolinas for example; others are faintly ridiculous, surreal even, and sound more like the inventions of a gifted satirist: Puget Sound GASP, Shocker GASP, and (inevitably) the Fresno Non-smokers' Liberation Front. They are, /^{we are} afraid, all real enough.

ASH was founded a little earlier, in 1967, and has not been quite so prolific having, by 1977, established only 24 chapters. Both GASP and ASH have their headquarters in Washington (GASP's actually is in Maryland but within spitting distance of the capital) and thus appear to sit somewhat uneasily on the divide between castes (which should be centralised and national) and sects (which should be decentralised and local). It looks as if the leaders and staff are having to look two ways at once: parleying with the castes in Washington all the while keeping in with their local followers by attacking the common enemy outside the walls (both produce frequent newsletters full of such sectist exhortations to the faithful). Inevitably, the strain begins to tell and the cracks begin to appear.

The anti-smoking organisations (in both Britain and America) are fond of depicting their battle with the tobacco interests in David and Goliath terms and ASH was very proud of its seedy little walk-up office on the campus of George Washington University, just down the road from the Tobacco Institute's 'plush pad'. The tenuousness of ASH's

* Yet in 1975 Clara Gouin claimed that 45 chapters had been founded. Does this mean that at least 15 of these had become moribund?

might threaten to blur the clarity of their internal distinctions and disorder the carefully arranged relations between their members.

But, in December 1976, Donna Shimp won her court case - a 'bell weather case' Dr. Terry called it - and suddenly EIA was impotent no more.

The media across the country had a field day, and the public response was all wildly enthusiastic.... Things began to change.... The rights of non-smokers have enjoyed a great upsurge of popularity and acceptance by the public and by the professionals in health care. It has become the 'in thing' to champion the cause of a clean indoor environment, free of tobacco smoke pollution.*

It has indeed become the 'in thing', not just among the sects but within the castes as well: NIOSH has in recent years begun to concentrate on the 'public smoking' issue devoting its annual 'education week', on more than one occasion, specifically to non-smokers' rights.

Both Banzhaf and Carnes are on the Council of EIA and it is, perhaps, more than mere coincidence that EIA should rise so dramatically from impotence to power at about the same moment that ASH Headquarters had to cut itself loose from the deadweight of its local chapters. ASH and EIA have certainly pulled themselves up but have they, in the process, pulled the castes down a bit? I think they have; the castes are now quite deeply involved with the issue of non-smokers' rights

* Shimp (op cit).

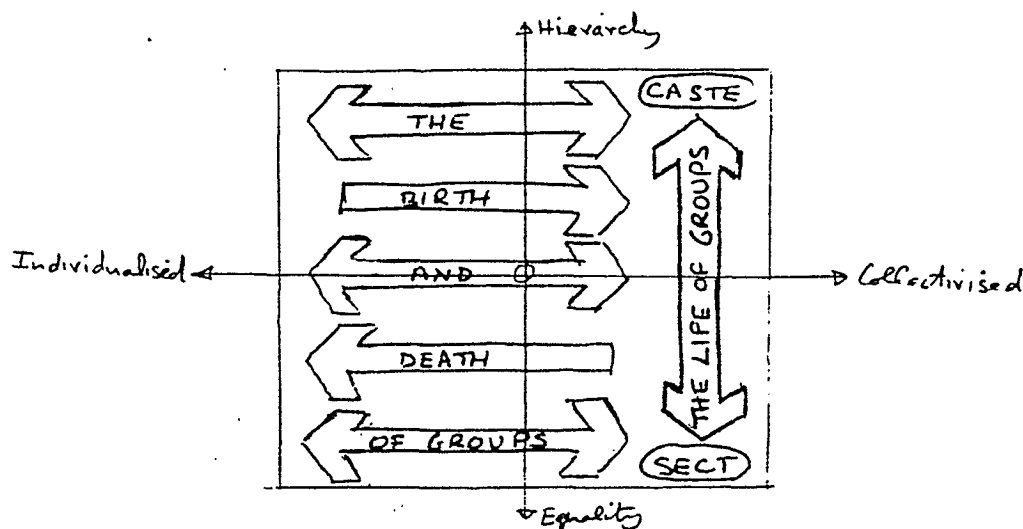
whilst, only a few years ago, they would have nothing to do with them. Back in 1974 the American Cancer Society put the boot in when Banzhaf tried to force non-smokers' rights onto the NIOSH (see the next chapter for more details of this —————> engagement). The ACS would not do the same thing now. Banzhaf has climbed a long way up towards the peak of power but, in moving to meet him, the castes have definitely slipped down a bit.

COSMOLOGY CRITERIA. Once upon a time (just fifteen years ago) there were no anti-smoking groups.* Now they are everywhere: from Anchorage to Albuquerque, from Illinois to Inverness. Where did they come from?

You cannot have groups without individuals but you can have individuals without groups and, if you want to find out not just how groups live but also how they are born and how they die, then you will have to look at the sorts of pressures that cause individuals to move into and out of groups. The discussion of sects and castes is concerned with the sorts of changes that can occur as we go up and down the right hand side of the social context diagram: as we go from sect to caste so we go up from an egalitarian context to an hierarchical context, but all this time the individuals involved remain strongly grouped. But what if we let this left to right dimension vary as well as the up and down one? What if we let people's social contexts vary between the poles of strong group commitment and total freedom from group involvement?

* Except, that is, for those that objected to smoking on religious grounds e.g. the Mormons and the Seventh Day Adventists.

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Anti-smoking groups could be born in two ways: by individuals transferring their allegiance from an existing group, in which case there is no left to right movement, or by the influx of individuals who previously were not members of any group, in which case there must be a movement from left to right (left and right, by the way, refer only to the sides of the diagram: they have no political significance). The same processes, reversed, would cause their death (unlike their biological counterparts, these processes are reversible; hence mature castes can become immature: they can grow down as well as grow up). Since there has been a tremendous increase in 'groupiness' in Western industrial nations in the last decade or so, only some of the births can be accounted for by migrations from existing groups. There must have been a great deal of left to right movement as well. This, of course, holds true only in the aggregate and the anti-smoking groups might be an exception. Were they born entirely by migration from other groups or entirely by an inflow of previously ungrouped individuals, or was it a bit of both?

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Are the GASPers and the Environmental Improvement Associates refugees from the Environmental Movement and Anti-Vietnam War campaigners looking for a new cause? Are the staff of OSH and the Members of the WHO

Expert Committee empire-building bureaucrats and place-serving professionals? Or are they hitherto live-and-let-live characters who have at last felt that things have gone far enough and that the time has come to cry 'halt'? Are they, in their different ways, overcoming their innate reticence and finally standing up to be counted? Or are they careerists and opportunists: entrepreneurs who know a good thing when they see one and are set on extracting as much personal advantage (not necessarily financial advantage) from shifting smoking from social acceptability to something 'permissible only between consenting adults in private'*?

Well, there are probably some of all these in there. Betty Carnes, for instance, who helped to push through the first state anti-smoking law (Arizona 1973) and who is a Trustee of ASH, is listed by them as 'Conservationist and Ornithologist' (see Appendix C). Careerists, opportunists and entrepreneurs there are in plenty (see next chapter) whilst Donna Shimp, who is allergic to tobacco smoke, was prompted to found EIA only when things came to such a pass that it was no longer possible for her to work in her smoke-filled environment.

GASP claims that its members are drawn from all walks of life and this indeed is probably true, but at the same time, this typically egalitarian assertion does obscure a remarkable inequality of representation. It turns out that those in some walks of life are drawn towards anti-smoking much more strongly than others. A glance through the membership list of Britain's Health Education Council, the Council and Consultants

* Ref.

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of EIA, and the Trustees and Sponsors of American ASH (Appendices A, B and C) is all that is needed to confirm that anti-smoking is very much the preserve of those who are, for one reason or another, remote from productive processes and from the market sector of the economy. College professors, politicians, doctors, journalists, and artists there are in profusion but captains of industry and, still more, fellows in boiler suits with oily rags in their hands and spanners in their back pockets are conspicuous by their absence. Here, in a common and profound bias in recruitment, there is a strong connection between the Anti-Smoking Movement and the Environmental Movement.* Or, rather, there was a strong connection.

As /^{we} write this, /^{we} hear a report on the radio about the 111th Annual Trades Union Congress at Blackpool. The week's proceedings have been dominated, not by such issues as unemployment, world recession, inflation, and the impact of new technologies, but by whether smoking should be banned in the auditorium. After a lively debate (the liveliest of a dull week) the motion to ban smoking was carried by a very large majority. Only the unions representing the tobacco workers, who perhaps had something to lose, and the steelworkers,** who working in an atmosphere stuffed

* See Cotgrove, Stephen and Duff, Andrew. Environmentalism, Middle Class Radicalism and Politics. (Not yet published)

** Interestingly, steelworkers are the odd ones out in America too: '... up to now policy is based on the assumption that people smoke because they are stupid... As most of the upper middle class types who formulate policy have never worked on a coke oven, they naturally find it difficult to understand why coke oven workers have exceedingly high levels of smoking... A part of the answer may lie in the fact that persons in such jobs are lucky to come home in one piece and with all faculties (such as hearing and sight). Compared to these risks, the net additional risk of smoking may be objectively small and is, at least in my interviews, perceived as small'. Laudon, Kenneth C. Personal communication.

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with carcinogens have nothing more to lose, were solidly against it. Trades Unions, of course, are groups but, even so, such a massive anti-smoking landslide (decisions of Congress, as its pipe-smoking Chairman Mr. Len Murray has just remarked on the radio, are very much respected by its twelve million members - not least himself) would seem to indicate that smoking has now been well and truly shifted from social acceptability to social unacceptability.* If this is so, then the new middle class--those in the non-productive service sector--can claim most of the credit.

But/^{we} have argued that the linkages between movements are essentially linkages of ideas, not of personnel, so what are the ideas that link the members of the new middle class and predispose them to be drawn towards such movements as anti-smoking and environmentalism? And in what way are these shared ideas set apart from those other common strands of ideas that link those who are not drawn towards these sorts of movements? We are now right inside the traditional territory of cultural anthropologists and such common strands of ideas are conventionally dealt with by /^{them} in terms of the concept 'culture'. 'Culture' is what humans in society have and 'cultures' are what humans in different societies have. Within a complex society the members of different social classes will have different 'sub-cultures' and so, if a new middle class appears, the orthodox cultural anthropologist would expect to find that its members carry a new sub-culture different in certain ways

* Only the minority women trades unionists who, reportedly, formed 'tight knots in the Ladies lavatories' showed any signs of defiance. Again, most interestingly, this is paralleled by women's smoking behaviour in America. See Ch. 4 of: Laudon, Kenneth C. The social origins of smoking behaviour (to be published Summer 1980).

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from the sub-culture carried by the members of the old middle class. And he will not be disappointed: cultures can be divided and sub-divided and sub-sub-divided until finally you get down to the sub-sub-sub-cultures of individuals, at which point you will realise that you may as well not have started. All you are left with is a cultural relativism which tells you that everyone is different yet provides no dimensions and scales along which to measure those differences. Since the entire validity of this organisational analysis would be undermined if the two strands of ideas associated with sects and castes were just two strands arbitrarily gathered together out of thousands of possible ones, it is absolutely vital to circumvent this quagmire of cultural relativity. This can be done in the following way.

To try to handle cultures directly is a waste of time: of course cultures are different, otherwise they would be the same; of course individuals are different from one another, otherwise they would not be individuals. So try taking just a part of culture, cosmology--just those theories about the nature of the universe that sustain moral judgements--and classify them instead. In this way, instead of comparing culture with culture, we look for the coercive bias within a culture: we look, not at the culture itself, but at the way it is distorted to sustain its shareability - to provide justifications for certain modes of behaviour rather than others, to provide a common basis for rewarding certain actions and for penalising others, and above all for ensuring that what is commonly regarded as credible remains credible and that what is commonly regarded as incredible remains incredible. For such a bias to be possible there will have to be some underlying theme relating ideas to actions and this, ^{we} have suggested, is strategy. What, then,

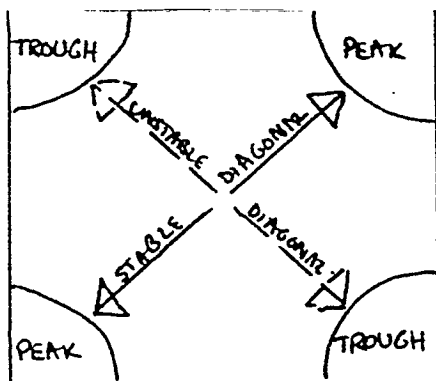
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leads an individual to operate one strategy rather than another?

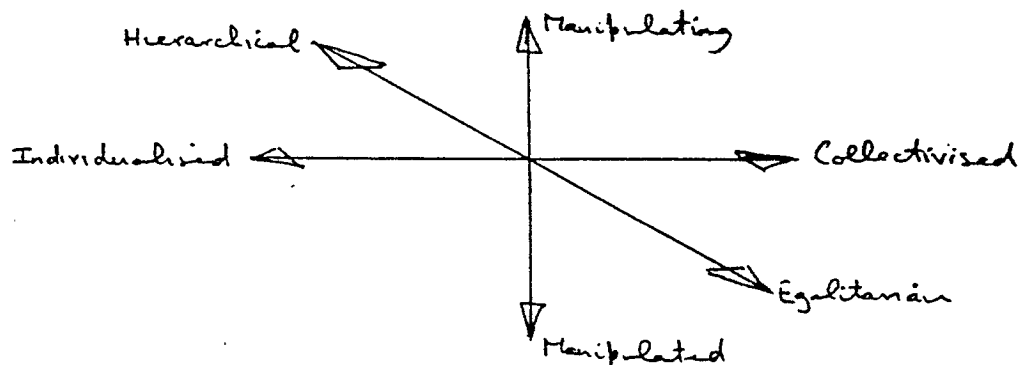
The answer, ~~We~~ have already argued for the limited case of sect and caste, is his social context: when he is a member of an egalitarian group the collectivist survival strategy commends itself to him and, if he is a member of an internally differentiated group, the collectivist manipulative strategy will be his natural choice. Now if people could follow any number of possible strategies we would be right back in the relativistic quagmire, but the interesting thing is that ^{there} seem to be only a very few strategies that it is possible for people to follow and, if there are only a few possible strategies, then there are only a few possible classes into which cosmologies can fall.

A caste whose members operate the collectivist manipulative strategy will sit upon a peak of power; a sect whose members operate the collectivist survival strategy will languish in a trough of impotence. Moving away from the right hand side of the diagram, ~~We~~ have already mentioned the stable and unstable diagonals and the other peak and trough that lie at their respective other ends--the peak occupied by the entrepreneur who, as one can probably guess, operates the individualist manipulative strategy and the trough occupied by those lonely unfortunates who have no option but to adopt the individualist survival strategy (Q. 'I wonder what the poor people are doing?' A. 'Without'.)*

* But not all those that tend to get labelled 'poor' are in this context and some individuals not normally regarded as poor are: middle-aged middle class alcoholic housebound women, for instance.



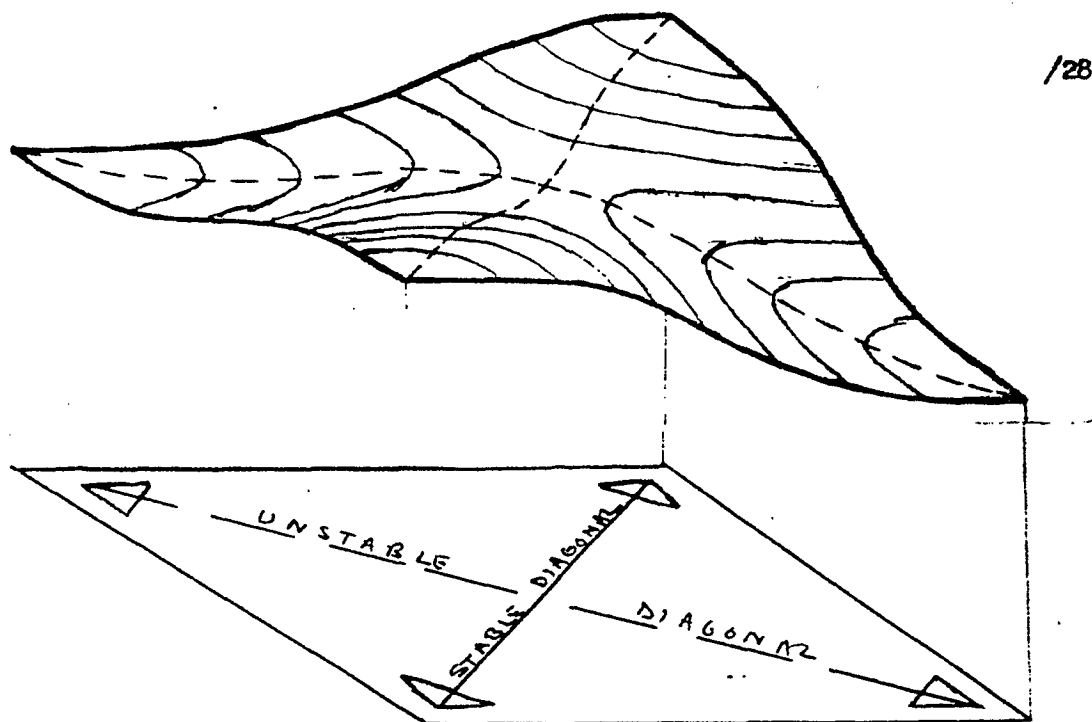
All these power peaks and troughs, stable and unstable diagonals, look rather mysterious and make a bit of a mess of the social context diagram on which they are superimposed, so let us do the proper mathematical thing and represent this third variable, power (the other two being the social context variables), by a separate axis.



A three dimensional graph is a surface, and the most rudimentary principles of map-reading will tell us what sort of a surface you will get from two peaks and two troughs arranged in opposing corners of a square.*

* We are trying to simplify the theory as much as possible and the appropriate surface actually has two slopes so steepened that they rear up into overhanging cliffs. We have omitted these features from this graph since it is not the slopes but only the flat bits that interest us here. For a fuller treatment of the theory see: Thompson, Michael. 'Risk and Restriction - adding the third dimension' in Douglas, Mary and Ostrander, David (Eds.) Exercises in the Sociology of Perception. Sage (to be published 1980).

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Now, at last, we can see what is going on. First of all, the meaning of the stable and unstable diagonals is revealed. The stable diagonal is the watershed and the unstable diagonal is where the water that it sheds eventually fetches up. The stable diagonal is the route you would have to follow to get from one peak to the other keeping as high as possible. The unstable diagonal is the route you would have to follow to get from one trough to the other with the minimum of exertion. The second thing to notice is that at each ^{and} of these diagonals there is a flat bit (or, as mathematicians say, a stationary point) and that in the middle, where the diagonals cross, there is another flat bit. These are the only flat bits there are; everywhere else on the surface is on the slope. Flat bits depict equilibria, and whether an individual finds an equilibrium stable or unstable will depend upon the strategy that he is using. If he is employing a manipulative strategy (maximising power) the peaks will be stable and if he is using a survival strategy (maximising impotence) the troughs will be stable. But there is more to it than this.

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Imagine that you had a rather dim and blindfolded creature capable of following only the simplest of instructions. If you told it to keep going uphill it would eventually fetch up on one or other of the peaks, and since it could not go any higher, stay there. If you told it to keep going downhill it would, for similar reasons, fetch up in one or other of the troughs. If you told it always to pull back from steepening slopes then, depending on where you put it down in the landscape, it would fetch up either on a peak or in a trough or on the saddle point in the middle. There is no other simple instruction that you could give this creature that would cause it to end^{up} somewhere other than on one of these five flat bits. Now, though this dim blindfolded creature may not be over-flattering to human pride, what all this means is that there are only five places where it is possible to fetch up and that, even to be able to do that, you will have to have three strategies: uphill, downhill, and pull back from steep slopes.

The uphill and the downhill strategies have already been covered - they are the manipulative and the survival respectively - and, in order to get you to a particular peak or trough, they subdivide into four according to whether social context requires them to be implemented individualistically or collectively. But what about the third strategy that can, in certain circumstances, cause you to end up on the saddle point? An individual at this point is at some kind of absolute zero of social and political involvement: neither incorporated into social groups nor excluded from them, neither fitted into hierarchy nor busy fitting others into hierarchy, ... neither manipulating his fellow men nor being manipulated by them. He is the hermit. He, and those who despite some small measure of involvement manage to stay near him, remain

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somewhat precariously in this odd stable equilibrium by following the autonomous strategy: striving at all times to avoid both those social involvements that would enable them to manipulate others and those other involvements that would enable others to manipulate them. Sitting there at his crossroads, the hermit with his unique stabilizing cosmology provides a convenient reference point from which to map out those of his less quietist fellow men.

Social withdrawal, nature mysticism, immediacy, and the deliberate dismantling of formal systems of knowledge in order to gain access to some deeper truths that they obscure, stabilise this context. The Whirling Dervish's endless dizzying rotation that, dissolving away all earthly and temporal boundaries finally unites him and the universe in one endless timeless whole, is one way of doing this. Meditation is another. Though gentle, ascetic and holy, the hermit can still be pretty sharp to those manipulative individuals in other social contexts who try to dislodge him from his equilibrium. Diogenes, when visited by Alexander the Great, told him 'get out of my light' and, when the Tibetan equivalent of an Oxbridge academic began to lecture the great hermit Milarepa, he was soon put firmly in his place.

Accustomed long to meditating on the Whispered Chosen Truths,
I have forgot all that is said in written and in printed books.
Accustomed, as I've been, to study of the Common Science,
Knowledge of erring Ignorance I've lost.

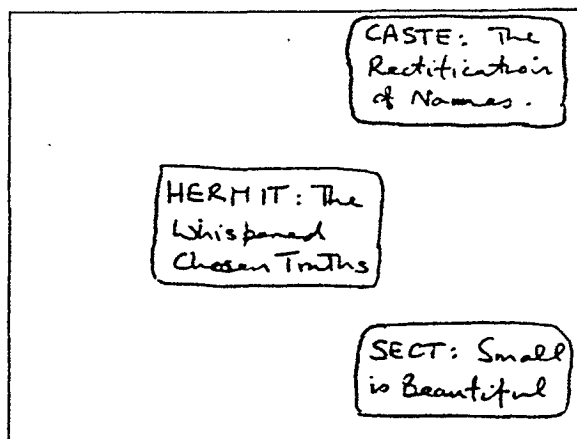
I have forgot the way to trace the roots of verbs and source
of words and phrases;

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May thou, O Learned One, trace out these things in
standard books.*

His unwelcome visitor is, of course, one of those 'tendentious nominalists' - a normal scientist - very much a man of hierarchy, a specialist, and a scholar: strongly committed to his academic discipline and to its supporting community. It must come as something of a shock to him to hear the principle by which he lives - the Rectification of Names - dismissed as 'erring Ignorance'. What is more, Common Science is the last thing he would want to have anything to do with, yet Milarepa by applying it is able to forget 'conventional and artificial usages' and to come at last to meditate upon the Whispered Chosen Truths. There can be no doubt that what is credible to the member of a caste is by no means the same as what is credible to the hermit and that what is credible to the member of a sect is something different again.

Preconditions
for
Credibility



Our purpose, in making this excursion away from anti-smoking and into Sufi mysticism and Himalayan asceticism, is to get into a position from

* From one of the Hundred Thousand Songs of Milarepa. Trans. Evans-Wentz, W.Y. The Tibetan Book of the Great Liberation, London CUP 1954. pp. 20-21.

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which ^{we} can say something about what has been called 'science utilization theory'. The idea in this theory is that, since what triggered off all the anti-smoking groups was the Surgeon General's report with all its meticulous scientific results, we should understand these groups as being concerned to use these results: to see that they are acted upon. The biomedics and the lawyers each have their part to play in such a process and so 'science utilization theory' would readily account for the high proportion of specialists, professionals, and individuals remote from the marketplace within the anti-smoking groups.

The only trouble with 'science utilization theory' is that it does not say anything about the kind of science that is being utilized. At this stage in the twentieth century, thanks to the efforts of philosophers and sociologists of knowledge (e.g. Kuhn) and to some of the scientists themselves (e.g. Planck and Lakatos), we are aware that science comes in more than one form. Scientific knowledge most certainly confers, upon those who have access to it, extensive control over space and time. Science gives power. It is therefore only to be expected that those whose social contexts lie at or near the peaks of the stable diagonal will utilise science, but the kind of science that they use and the use to which that science is put will depend on which end of the diagonal they happen to be at. The science used by the anti-smoking castes is normal science par excellence. The meticulously designed research projects of Sir Richard Doll, Dr. Charles Fletcher, and Dr. Sidney Wolfe do not question any of the dominant scientific paradigms: they simply apply them with great elegance, precision and ingenuity. All those PhDs, all those mega-mice, and all those serried ranks of smoking beagles are normal science.

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Not all scientists are so respectful of the pillars of their community nor of the Rectification of Names by which that community is stabilized. 'Always go outside your own university for funds', whispered Fred Hoyle to a youthful fellow entrepreneur, 'and always ask for twice as much as you need'. While normal scientists are busying themselves sweeping, dusting and polishing the palaces of theory that they have inherited, brash (but brilliant) /^{fellows} come crashing in, throw their sleeping bags on the gleaming marble floors, and treat those stately homes as nothing more than intellectual resting places. Since it is very unlikely that any anti-smoking research is going to roll back the frontiers of knowledge, there are few if any of these individualistic scientists to be found in the laboratories. The only science that gets utilized is normal science.

Yet it would be wrong to speak of the anti-smoking castes as 'using' science. 'Use' implies some lack of respect, and respect is what castes are all about. Science - normal science - is not 'used' by castes, it is an end in itself. Normal science gets 'used' by entrepreneurs: by the tobacco companies. They hire scientists to come up with safer cigarettes, with tobacco substitutes, and (be it said) with counter-evidence to that amassed by their fellows in the anti-smoking castes. while many might regard this as perfectly acceptable and indeed desirable, such utilization of science by business, especially big business, is viewed with jaundiced eyes by those who are guided by the principle that small is beautiful. To their way of seeing things the tobacco companies are not using science: they are abusing it.

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In War or Want's pamphlet Tomorrow's epidemic? tobacco and the Third

World, big is ugly and big is bad. The size of the tobacco companies enables them to operate monopolistically and override the dictates of the marketplace. Their multi-national character allows them to divert onto an impotent Third World what they are prohibited from doing in the first two, and the complexity of their organisation creates a smokescreen that prevents both their victims abroad and ordinary decent people at home from perceiving that this exploitation is taking place. Even FAO officials have been persuaded by British American Tobacco Company's scientists that, since tobacco is a crop that grows well on marginal land and is moreover a 'teaching crop', it is a valuable aid to development. They have, argues War on Want, been led away from noticing that, since a tree has to be burned for every 300 cigarettes produced, the crop ends up turning that marginal land into desert. Every pack, says War on Want, should carry a dual warning.

SMOKING CAN SERIOUSLY DAMAGE YOUR HEALTH - AND YOUR LAND.

Secure inside its wall of virtue, War on Want has now got a lever with which to ease itself out of its trough of impotence - it has found an oppressed minority to champion - and it is now able to identify and bring the message to similar manipulated and exploited minorities closer to home. The villains are bigness and the abuse of science that has produced the technology that will usher in that bigness.

Mike Muller, the author of the pamphlet, actually begins by claiming that the smoking and health controversy - the anti-smoking movement - may well be 'the best thing for the tobacco industry since the invention of the cigarette machine'.* As a confession of impotence, an assertion of

* Muller, Mike. Tomorrow's epidemic? Tobacco and the Third World, War on Want, London 1978. p. 65.

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the natural goodness of the vulnerable dwarfs inside the wall of virtue, and a condemnation of the inherent badness of the omnipotent giants outside, this sentence would be hard to beat. But War on Want has now got its lever, its oppressed minority, and is impotent no more. David will be able to rise up and slay Goliath, once he has disabused himself of his false consciousness and seen how things really are, and more importantly, seen the shape of things to come.

The technology for making the new cigarettes ... will free tobacco companies from a painful dependence on foreign suppliers. It will reduce the price they have to pay for tobacco. And it will help to beat the labour problems that have crippled American tobacco exports...

The damage it will do to the Third World could however be massive. And we believe it is time for these consequences to be spelt out.*

This new technology is the pulping process for both tobacco leaf and wood (the basis of tobacco substitutes) and the separation of the tobacco 'soup' containing all the complex compounds that give tobacco its flavour (and its other less desirable qualities). This soup can then be treated chemically, certain noxious ingredients removed and other desirable ones added, and then the whole can be rolled out as 'reconstituted tobacco sheet' or, as War on Want prefer to call it, 'flavoured lavatory paper'. Mike Muller's (perhaps not entirely unbiased) description of this process is a masterpiece of sectist writing: a demonology of bigness and a catalog of the unnatural

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* Ibid. p. 65.

dehumanising high technology by which these demons penetrate and seek to destroy the world's sole remaining bastion of all that is decent, human and natural.

Two names hint at the shape of tomorrow's cigarette. One is Kimberley-Clark - better known as makers of Kleenex tissues and toilet paper. The other is Givaudan, the Hoffman la Roche chemical and flavour subsidiary which gave the world the poison cloud disaster at Seveso.

Kimberley-Clark has perfected the process of taking tobacco stems and stalks, floor-sweepings and other waste and putting them into 'fine Virginia tobacco' cigarettes.* Givaudan is one of the many chemical companies clamouring for the chance to help put tobacco flavour back into the resulting product.

The Kimberley-Clark process is just like making lavatory paper. Take tobacco offal (as the industry call it), pulp it up with water. Separate the fibrous solids from the liquid solution. Form the fibres into a thin sheet. Then add back the liquids and dry the "paper". Roll it up and put it on the shelf.

Connoisseurs of this genre will delight in picking out those key words: 'chemical', 'poison cloud' 'disaster', 'offal' ... 'waste': and will relish the way in which the disgusting ersatz cigarette finally emerges from a production line that is indistinguishable from a sewer. But there

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* Funny, We always thought that was Kersitas!

is more, and worse, to come.

.... The 'tar content' of world tobacco has not changed significantly; meanwhile the 'tar content' of the rich world's cigarettes is being halved. How?

The answer is, of course, technology: chemicals and machines. The same agribusiness story that is so familiar in the food business, where any connection between the industry's products and good nutrition is largely coincidental.

.... once that tobacco has been pulped into soup, anything can happen. Stir in magic plastic balls and, Presto! a whole range of nasty chemicals is gone. Want to take out other undesirables? Try a sly dose of methanol/cyclohexane azeotrope. You can just soak the leaves in it but it works better in the soup.

Once the soup is made, flavours can be extracted and replaced. Some of tobacco's flavour actually comes from the components which cause cancer. Too bad, add a few new chemicals instead.... It's happening today. At Philip Morris, USA.... At Reetsma, in Germany....

Big, dehumanising... unnatural: 'chemicals', 'machines'... 'agribusiness'. What are they doing to us? The unifying appeal here is not that the villains are giving us cancer, it is that they are giving us cigarettes that are not what they appear to be: they may look like 'fine Virginia tobacco' but really they're offal. This is the fear of witchcraft - of some destructive outside force disguising itself and getting inside: 'she may look like an ordinary human being but really she's a witch'. In fact, nature is so good and ersatz so bad that the tobacco companies are

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even castigated for taking out of the tobacco the naturally occurring carcinogens. Not surprisingly, War on Want has little time for science.

Real 'progress' for the industry will be to make a single sheet of tobacco-plus-substitute from a soup of tobacco and wood pulp. BAT already has patents to do this.

That's a hint of the chemical background to the rich world's new cigarettes. Little wonder that BAT offers 'challenging' 'varied' work to chemical engineers. Little wonder too that the industry has yet to challenge their smokers with the smell of the chemical factory.

'Low Tar. Natural Tobacco. Real Taste'. is the line selling Imperial Tobacco's Embassy Number One. As natural - as a dead fish in a polluted river!*

Yet this is not the end of sinister penetration. Technology (mechanisation, foil-wrapped seeds, and bulk curing barns) is transforming not just the manufacture of cigarettes but even that most natural of all processes: the growing of tobacco. Enter some real people:

'It's changing fast this 'bacca business', says Ralph Daniels, tobacco farmer, North Carolina USA. He should get together with the Lipyuti Kwamakulas, the small farmers of the Third World. For their future is happening to him today.... The spectre is mechanisation.... 'Gonna be hard on us small growers', says Ralph Daniels. 'Be good for the big fellas though - them with the machines. They'll grow it and they'll git it t' market... way things are going, small farmer ain't

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* Muller op cit pp. 65-67.

got no chance no more. Them big fellas, them an' the companies, they run the system. Compared to them, we're just like ants on an elephant.*

Ants on an elephant... small is beautiful. Of course we should be concerned about Ralph Daniels and Lipyuti Mwamakula, but is this sectist prescription--turn the whole world into an ant sanctuary--the best way to set about ensuring their welfare?

It may be. For all I know, War on Want's deeply pessimistic Orwellian view of things may be how it really is. But the rightness and wrongness of the contradictory arguments is not what I am interested in here. What is of interest is, not which argument is right and which argument is wrong, but which one is credible and which one is incredible: and people in differing social contexts grant credibility to different 'truths'. The way to understand what is going on is not to ask 'which version is right?' but 'which version would people like to be right?'.

War on Want does not fabricate evidence but it does display a certain bias in the selection and interpretation of its data. It has a sectist axe to grind and, having ground it, it uses it to fit the —→ tobacco industry onto an uncomfortable Procrustean couch. This high degree of selectivity means that, at the sectist end of the movement, counter-evidence does not get much of a look in. The tobacco industry, in failing to distinguish between these caste-ist and sectist ends, has been —→ indiscriminate. Unlike sects, the only counter-evidence

* Muller op cit p. 69.

that castes (with their normal science) will ignore is that which threatens their dominant paradigm and, as I have argued, there probably isn't any of this kind of evidence around in anti-smoking.

Once we see how a social context shapes not just the system of knowledge but the unquestioned assumptions upon which that system rests, the mutual exasperation of the various parties in controversies such as that surrounding smoking and health or that concerned with what is happening to the environment is readily understandable. At either end of the stable diagonal we find different varieties of science: normal science at its caste end, entrepreneurial science at the opposite end. For castes, normal science is an end in itself: a source of respect. At the other extreme, normal scientists are used by entrepreneurs and entrepreneurial scientists use whoever they can lay their hands on: they will, and probably do, go to Old Nick himself if he's prepared to fund their research. In the middle, the hermit has to detach himself

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- * The only trouble being that the research had to span, in all, 20 years. The normal scientists were aware of the objection but answering it authoritatively had to be a lengthy business. Interim results were published after 10 years (1964) and conclusive results after 20 years (1976).

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from all science that gives access to power ('erring Ignorance' he calls it) in order to be able to practice its greater transcendental and liberating form: Common Science.

Along the unstable diagonal the selective bias and disregard for counter-evidence means that, though it may look as if sects too are using science, what they are really using is scientism. At times this bias, when combined with the credulity that their total lack of social intercourse with the outside world makes possible, can transport the members of a small egalitarian group all the way from science utilization to millenarianism. Conversely, a sect that is moving up towards caste will progressively restrain the credulity of its members, will begin to take more account of counter-evidence, and in consequence will gradually become more acceptable to normal scientists in the way it marshalls its arguments.*

These varieties of credible knowledge are clearly distinct from one another and each of them is absolutely central to one of the horizontal strands of ideas that social contexts inevitably generate. If the individuals in these different contexts never impinged upon one another then that would be the end of it: each context would form its own society, stabilized by its own cosmology, and securely attached to its credible

* There is some evidence that this is happening in anti-smoking (for instance American ASH and EIA), much more in the Environmental Movement. An example would be the way in which the Friends of the Earth presented their case at the Windscale Inquiry and it is significant that, stimulated by the knowledge that they would need to present a good caste-ist case, they entered into relationships with other groups of similar status during the run-up to the Inquiry and formed themselves into the Network for Nuclear Concern - something not too dissimilar to the NIOSH.

system of knowledge.* But this is not the case here. Individuals in these different contexts are all members of a single society and, not only do they constantly impinge on one another, the very fact that they find themselves in one context rather than another is largely the result of that impingement. They drive one another into their different corners, and this whole dynamical system of contexts and cosmologies is inherently fluid. 'Movements' are those displays of fluidity that happen to be pronounced enough for us to notice them: great swirling shifts of individuals out of certain contexts and into others.

The anti-smoking movement, for the most part, swirls around between caste-ism and sectism. There is a generalized flow from left to right-- from individualism towards collectivism. but, at the same time, these two collectivist tendencies are knitted together into a coherent recognizable 'movement' by the individualistic enterprise of the sect leaders.

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* Indeed, many of the 'simple' societies studied by anthropologists are of this form, or at any rate, can be interpreted as being of this form.

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Notes:

- 1 Appointed with effect from 1 January 1978
- 2 Appointed with effect from 14 March 1978
- 3 Miss R. Howden was appointed to the Council on 1 January 1978 and resigned on 25 February 1978.

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An address before the Annual Meeting of the American
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LEADERSHIP AND ITS PROBLEMS

Caste Leadership and Sect Leadership

What, apart from rather unlikely names, have Clara Gouin, Donna Shimp, and George Banzhaf III got in common? They are all founder-leaders of single-issue anti-smoking groups. There is more to this simple answer than may meet the eye. What is significant is not so much that they are the leaders but that they are still the leaders. On the one hand, they have not, over the years, been ousted from the leadership nor, on the other hand, have the groups that they lead gone out of existence.

Single-issue groups are sects--held together not by a differentiated internal structure but by a unified rejection of the outside. The cohesion of such groups would be strengthened however if, as well as this repulsion at the periphery, there was some attraction towards the center; but before you can have that sort of a force you have to have a center. Sects are strongly committed to egalitarian principles and do not like any status distinctions within their ranks, and to pick out one individual and say 'He is the center' is to make one hell of a status distinction. Shakespeare was well aware that he was dealing with something more like OSH than ASH when he put these words into Caesar's mouth:

.... I am as constant as the northern star of whose true--fix'd and resting quality. There is no fellow in the firmament.

How to claim, and gain acceptance for, centrality is a great problem in any sect. Many have collapsed or split because such claims could not be credibly advanced or adequately sustained. Add to these difficulties the problems that arise in the longer term when it becomes necessary to arrange the transfer of leadership from one person to another, and the inherent tendency of sects not to remain stable becomes

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even clearer. GASP, EIA, and ASH are still comparatively youthful sects and have yet to face a crisis of succession, but they have all three managed to overcome their initial difficulties: they have clearly defined and unanimously accepted leaders.

The great centralized Roman Empire had to have a leader at its center. Just who should be the leader might be in dispute but the position itself was never in question. In a sect, the aspiring leader has to create acceptance both for himself and for the position he hopes to fill. Max Weber gave a new lease of life to an old Greek word when he described the person who is able to pull off this double feat as charismatic. Any individual who, by strength of personality, persuasive powers, personal commitment and single-minded dedication, can summon up around his cause a social group that simply was not there before has got charisma. Thus the founder of a group, by virtue of the fact that it exists and he founded it, is bound to have the first requirement for acceptance as the center of his otherwise unstructured group. What is more, he, and he alone, founded the group and so he, and he alone, has valid and acceptable claim to that position. So founder-leadership is probably the best way there is of stabilizing the early life of a new sect.

A complex organization creates within itself at key points leadership positions which then have to be filled. When a university professor retires, resigns or dies his chair becomes vacant and it stays vacant until a new occupant has been selected. That is, the position has an existence of its own quite separable from the individual who fills it: The chair is there and every now and then somebody comes and sits

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in it for a while. The same is true of offices, thrones and helms. But an egalitarian and internally undifferentiated group cannot generate lasting positions like this. Sects have no organizational furniture, no architectural framework; the leader is leader by virtue of his personal qualities and his unique achievements, not on account of what he sits on or which room he occupies. There is no chair, there is no room, and when he goes that's that: The sect no longer has a center. The result is that a sect and its leader become locked into a dynamic immobility: The leader has to run like mad just to stay in the same place.

Why Become a Sect Leader?

Of course, Clara Gouin is not just the leader of GASP: she has a job as well. George Banzhaf likewise, has his teaching post at George Washington University and Donna Shimp goes to work as best she can in her smoke-filled workplace. That is, all three of them for some of their time occupy positions that do not disappear when they temporarily vacate them. Within these complex organizations they are, or at least can be, mobile. But for that part of the day when they are not at their desks but at the center of their sects they are totally immobile. With their days divided between castes and sects--between mobility and immobility--they look likely candidates for schizophrenia, so perhaps they operate some sort of drive for consonance that lessens the conflicts and contradictions within their daily rounds? Perhaps they were predisposed towards sectism because they each found themselves stuck in one place within a system that is supposed to offer mobility? We know little about the sort of jobs that Clara Gouin and Donna Shimp work at but George Banzhaf, certainly, has taught law at the same university

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for many years now. It is worth bearing in mind the possibility that sect leadership, which of its very nature is immobile, may be a logical response for those ambitious individuals who find themselves held immobile within complex organizations that supposedly offer mobility to the able. Making a virtue of necessity, they transform a caste-ist failure into a sectist triumph.

At any rate, this tentative hypothesis provides a plausible explanation of how they came to found their sects. In those early days they were probably no different from many other individuals in similar sorts of frustrating circumstances but, unlike theⁿ they were successful: the right person in the right place at the right time; in at the birth of an idea whose time had come, the divine efflatus entered into our charismatic trio and their sects, instead of withering, flourished. Continuing the conjecture, with success came a change of emphasis. Immobility may be a sign of failure in a complex organization but it is a sign of success in a simple one. Just switch your collectivist goal and caste failure can be used to fuel sect success: immobility becomes a valuable asset. Banzhaf's teaching post provides him with his livelihood in Washington which is where he needs to be, for many years it gave him his free office space for ASH, and it has always provided him with access to a steady supply of suitable recruits for Banzhaf's Bandits. Clara Gouin's job similarly maintains her Washington base, whilst Donna Shimp's work-place, hitherto a daily purgatory, is overnight transformed into a heaven-sent opportunity: the occasion for her carefully planned court case that did, and is still doing, so much for non-smokers' rights.

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Final Resting Place and Springboard: Followers and Leaders

Success into failure, reverse into advance, problem into opportunity, oppression into liberation.....pig's ear into silk purse: This is the very stuff that entrepreneurs are made of. Change the rules and, all of a sudden, loser takes all. The leaders of sects are, it seems, not quite the same as their followers. The latter band together collectively to resist pressures against which individually they feel themselves powerless: they are interested in survival. But sect leadership, though it does offer survival, offers opportunity as well. The followers, once they are safely inside their wall of virtue, feel they have reached the Promised Land, but the leader knows that for him it is just a convenient resting place on the way to a much more ambitious destination. The dynamic immobility that keeps a sect and its leader together may not last indefinitely. The followers want to stay where they are--in the trough of impotence--but the leader may aspire to more power than is available to him down there in the valley.

"I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills from whence
cometh my strength." (23rd Psalm)

If he sets out to climb those slopes then he and his sect must surely part company. But the crucial difference between sectism, which is what these sects strictly speaking are, and life sects, which provide our anthropological model, is that in the latter case the departure of the leader will be immediately apparent to his followers--they are committed twenty-four hours a day to involvement in a face-to-face community--while in the former the leader is able to con his followers into believing that he is still down there in the valley. Sectists devote only part of their

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resources--energy, time, and money--to their sect and they can get up to all sorts of things with what is left. Even more useful to the leader is the fact that his followers are not in face-to-face contact with him--they are hundreds of miles away kept in contact only through the media. Their's is a mail-order communality. Since the leaders have impressive media skills, they are able to use this temporal and spatial slippage to convince their followers that they are with them in the valley and to convince those with whom they negotiate their progress up the slope that their followers are right behind them. Such are the wonders of modern communication: they enable the media-skilled leader to be in two places at the same time! *

With this distinction between a sectist leader and his followers clarified, we need to go back and take another look at our earlier sanskritization hypothesis: the idea that what is happening in anti-smoking is a movement of anti groups up the power slope from sectism to caste-ism. Sects, it now becomes clear, cannot move up this slope since a necessary condition for their existence is that they remain at the bottom. Yet ASH, for instance, has clearly moved a long way towards caste-ism in recent years. How can this be? Well, the answer is that ASH has not moved up: one twenty-fifth of ASH--its Washington headquarters--has moved up. The other twenty-four local chapters are still down there in the valley. Sects cannot move up the slope but individuals, or individuals who (counter to the egalitarian principles) organize themselves into an internally differentiated group, can.

Again, Weber has described what happens to a leader who, cutting lose his followers once they have served their purpose, moves up the slope and fits himself into the bureaucracy that sits on its peak: the routiniza-

*This 'slippage' hypothesis receives some confirmation from the fact that those anti-smoking groups that are 'real sects'--religious groups that happen, among other things, to forbid smoking--have not begun to tap power in this way. As the sectists (ASH, GASP and EIA) have progressed, the real sects (Mormons, Amish, Seventh Day Adventists, Women's Christian Temperance Union, and, in Britain, The National Society of Non-Smokers) seem to have remained unchanged.

tion of charisma. He has to get used to the idea of filling a position of leadership rather than being the leader, he has to transfer his attention from a simple single-issue to complex multi-issues and, worst of all, he has to be prepared for some degree of compromise: he has to accept that it may not be possible for all his demands to be met. He may not be too keen on this cosmological changeover from Small Is Beautiful to the Rectification of Names and he may try to make it on his own terms and with all his uncompromising demands intact. As he and the castes come together, does he change them or do they change him?

One of the troubles with looking at the many public interest groups in Washington is that you are looking only at the successful ones--- the ones that have either cut loose their sectist followers, or else haven't really got any, or else manage to keep their mail-order membership at arms-length. So far as the process of sanskritization is concerned, they are the fish that make John West the best; but, if you only look in Washington you will not see the other half of the process--ASH's twenty-four dumped local chapters--the fish John West rejected. Sanskritization is a dynamic and complicated process with some individuals moving up the slope and others refusing to move up, or else failing in their efforts to move up, or else being forced to stay down. So an individual who shifts his allegiance from sectism to caste-ism has to do two things at once: he has to disengage himself from those who wish to hold him back (his fellow sect members) and he has to make himself acceptable to those whom he wishes to join (the caste members).

To investigate these sorts of individual shifts is not easy and any study, to carry conviction, would have to be based on fieldwork, interviews, and quite intimate contact with the individuals concerned.

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Such modes of investigation are not possible in this present study, yet it would be a shame not to be able to include some treatment of leadership. Consequently we have first had to spell out in some detail what the theory would predict, and now we must sift through such patchy data as is available for any faint clues that may suggest that what is predicted is what is actually going on.* Two incidents--Banzhaf's first encounters with NICSH and Nader's decision not to enter the anti-smoking arena--are about all we have to draw on in support of these elaborate theoretical predictions.

Gate-CrASHing

The calendar, punctuated by Saint's Days, by solstices and equinoxes, by Christmas Day, New Year's Day, Independence Day . . . and so on, is a great temporal bastion against the inroads of ego-centric individualism. Your own birthday may be important to you but it can gain no recognition outside your immediate social circle. The Queen's official birthday is important because the Queen as queen is different from the rest of us; her real birthday--the Queen as ordinary person--is unimportant. If castes are manipulative and collectivist then they will try to find some place for themselves within this impersonal valid-for-everyone calendar. To do this they will need to gate-crash a saint's birthday party and persuade him to become their patron. British ASH, aiming a little higher than a saint, has claimed Ash Wednesday as its very own day. What is more, they look like they're getting away with it: many people are coming to see Ash and ASH as one and the same. Such deference by those not of the group to the claims made by it indicates that British ASH is nearer to caste-ism than to sectism. American ASH, by comparison, still has some way to go.

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*The data drawn on here is restricted to that which happened to be in the universe of material collected for the U.S. content analysis. Though interviews are not possible, further library searches could provide us with much more data (newspaper reports and magazine interviews, for instance). Indeed, we believe it would be possible using this method to construct quite substantial biographies for some of these leaders.

Shortly after ASH headquarters had to cut loose its twenty-four chapters, we find Donna Shimp (with the help of EIA) winning her famous court case. Among the Advisory Council and Consultants of EIA, we find, as well as such professional and governmental luminaries as Terry and Horn, ASH's George Banzhaf and Betty Carnes. Clearly, Banzhaf has not been behaving as a true sect member should--he has been hobnobbing with people outside his wall of virtue--establishing contacts and offering in return the benefits of his professional expertise and specialist experience. What is more, he is successful--his offer is accepted, Donna Shimp wins her court case, and the outside world takes note. Banzhaf is clearly beginning to tap power.

But look what happened to him two years earlier on his first attempt to enter, and remain within, the caste-ist inner sactum. He had been invited to attend a meeting of NICSH to receive a special award in recognition of his efforts in the anti-smoking struggle. This symbolic act of prize-giving is typically caste-ist and enables NICSH to make friends with Banzhaf while keeping him at a comfortable distance. He is an honored guest at the meeting but that does not entitle him to vote nor does it entitle him to attend future meetings. But Banzhaf, brash fellow that he is, chose to ignore (or perhaps was unaware of) these subtle conventions and used the occasion to press on NICSH his ideas for surveying members of congress and their challengers on their attitudes to smoking and health. Caught off balance, the NICSH voted unanimously in favor of their guest's unexpected proposal.

But only a week after the meeting, the American Cancer Society--the biggest single contributor to NICSH funds--set about erasing from the record this illegitimate (unrectified) proposal by a jumped-up non-

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caste member. In a piece entitled "Cancer Society Kills Legislative Survey," ASH newsletter* bitterly describes this reversal.

Despite a unanimous vote at its most recent meeting to conduct the survey, the National Interagency Council (NIC) overruled its own membership by backing down when faced with objections from ACS, its major funding source whose contribution was then pending. . . Those attending the meeting voted unanimously in favor of the idea and appointed a five-member committee to supervise the details of the questionnaire. . . . The American Cancer Society decided that it wanted no part of such a survey and asked for a disclaimer of their participation. Representatives of the American Lung Association and the American Heart Association, who had previously approved the survey and the questionnaire, immediately followed the Cancer Society's lead, and the project died.

What, in sectist eyes, is seen as NICSH overruling its own membership (how it can do this is unclear but it is certainly anti-egalitarian) is the perfectly straightforward caste-ist response when something disrupts the clarity and order of its internal arrangements. Banzhaf, for his part, should have returned his 'special award' but, since there is no mention of this, we must assume that he held onto it and waited for things to blow over--a nice example of a sect leader facing both ways at once: turning the setback to good sectist account with his mail-order followers all the while keeping his foot in the caste-ist door.

*ASH Newsletter, Vol. IV, No. 5, September/October 1974.

Clearly, Banzhaf wants powers and equally clearly he is prepared to make contacts outside his group and to act in a professional and elitist, rather than a amateur and egalitarian, way. But, equally clearly, he does not like the idea of compromise and still hopes to make it all the way to the peak with his single-issue demands intact. But the caste that is already up there, though prepared to go much of the way with Banzhaf, is not prepared to go so far as to disrupt its orderly internal relations, for to allow that would be to transgress the caste's organizing principle: The Rectification of Names. Banzhaf will have to make himself more acceptable; he will have to modify his demands until they are of a form that will not cause too much discomfort to the caste members; he will have to define his area of concern (legal aspects of smoking and health, presumably) more carefully and negotiate boundary agreements with those caste members whose territories border on his.

But there is another possibility. He may be able to by-pass the caste system and gain direct access to the ear of government. After all, he is claiming in his sectist rhetoric to speak for the people and, if government is increasingly in favor of such direct communion, it may prefer to listen to him rather than to the castes. Instead of an indirect link in which the people trust (and in consequence defer to) the castes and the castes then speak to government, the castes are elbowed out of the way, and government bends down to listen to all them grassroots a-growin. This is a highly tentative hypothesis yet it does have a number of things going for it. First, it would account for some of the profound differences between anti-smoking in the United States and Britain. Second, it suggests a way of joining this anthropological approach to the more familiar analyses of political science.

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The idea of a populace deferring to a caste that then is listened to by government is intuitively attractive if one is trying to understand what is happening in Britain. There the castes are clearly separate from government. The Royal College of Physicians has a long, proud and independent history; it spoke to Disraeli's government, it speaks to today's government and it is confident that it will be speaking to governments many years hence. In measured tones, quite free of fear or favor and resonant with an impersonal and almost timeless authority, it gives its pronouncement on what the health and smoking predicament of the British people is, and it indicates quite clearly the direction in which they should move in order that their welfare may be increased. And they are listened to. The general public are disposed to believe what their doctors tell them: certainly they will give credence to the Royal College of Physicians rather than to the tobacco companies. What is more, government listens to them most respectfully. One only need read the debate in the House of Lords on the Royal College of Physicians' report* to sense the tremendous solidity of this mature caste. While the medical lords, Platt (ex-President of the RCP) and Rosenheim (President of the RCP), dominated the debate and were listened to with great respect, Lord Sinclair of Cleeve (a Director of Imperial Tobacco) who spoke up on behalf of the industry came away with a flea in his ear.

I am sure that when he next comes to address the House
on this subject he will not be quite so frivolous.

(Baroness Summerskill)

*Hansard, Vol. 316, No. 72, Wednesday 14 March 1971.

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(Small wonder, then, that those British politicians whose preferred aim is direct communication with the British people should be so anxious to abolish the House of Lords.)

But in America this tripartite distinction between populace, caste, and government is not so easily made. Caste and government are all mixed up with one another: NICSH (the caste) is largely made up of federal agencies (government). The castes, unlike those in Britain, do not really have an existence separate from and over and above that of government. Denied that detachment, American castes all too often elicit from the populace not deference (the just reward of a mature caste) but truculence (the radical ideal toppling an immature caste). Instead of remaining on their remote and austere peak of power, they slide down the slope in the hope of gaining popular support; and, not too far down that slope, who do they meet? Banzhaf!

Is it entirely fanciful to link this anthropological characterization of a profound difference between British and American society with that made by a political scientist?

In American history the Radical, although the founder of party, is also its most persistent critic. Forever disillusioned with the actual tones in which party speaks, he seeks to eliminate interference by bosses, corruption, and special interests and to tune in the authentic voice of the people by regulating party processes, by setting up a direct primary, by instituting the initiative and referendum. The strength of the Radical ideal in America is one major reason for the weakness of our parties. In Britain, while the Radical ideal has not had

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so great an influence, it has also been inadequate as a moral foundation for party government. Only in Collectivist thought do we find the necessary sanctions.*

Political scientists, of course, are interested in power and therefore tend to focus upon the peaks of power in the anthropological picture and to ignore the troughs of impotence. Beer's analysis, in consequence, runs back and forth along the stable diagonal. The collectivism that he discerns in British society is of the caste-ist variety and the individualism that he identifies with the radical ideal is of the entrepreneurial variety. But, down there in the misty valleys, some other things are happening. America may not be very collectivist in the caste-ist sense but it has certainly moved strongly towards collectivism in the sectist sense. Here again, are the radical purifying forces that he describes: "to eliminate interference by bosses, corruption. and special interests and to tune in the authentic voice of the people": the sort of forces an anthropologist would expect to find being unleashed in individualist social contexts? No. They are the purest expressions of unreconstructed sectism: the uncompromising demands of those sect leaders who have managed to climb up the power slope with their charisma still unroutinized. Perhaps Britain and America are now both collectivised? Perhaps the choice that separates them is not between collectivism and individualism but between two sorts of collectivism: caste-ism and sectism?

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*S. H. Beer, Modern British Politics, Faber paperback edition, 1965, p. 43.

Yet these sect leaders, though their demands are made in such uncompromisingly sectist terms, exhibit many of the characteristics of entrepreneurs, that is, of individualists. If this is so then Beer is still right. Since there are many more successful sect leaders in the United States than there are in Britain, the United States must be more individualized. That is a valid picture if you look at those who are involved with power, but what about all those sect members in whose name the leaders make their sectist demands and on whose backs they ride? All those Washington-based leaders are really entrepreneurial wolves in sectist sheep's clothing. For such a deception to be effective, there have to be plenty of sheep; for every leader, there must be some followers. So, if we find there are more sect leaders around, then there must be even more of their followers around. This means that, even though the leaders are indeed individualists, an increase in their numbers means an overall shift within the population away from individualism towards collectivism.

The paradox is resolved if we recognize that, as well as the distribution of power that political scientists study, there is, out there, another largely neglected yet every bit as complex a process going on: the distribution of impotence. Just as ignorance is not simply the absence of knowledge, so impotence is not simply the absence of power. Unlike light and shade, when you have mapped the one you have not mapped the other. When you have described the distribution of power you have only described one half of what is going on. The full answer is that in America power is individualized (and increasingly so) but impotence is collectivized (and increasingly so). To this we should add that, since power is being concentrated (in sect leaders) while impotence is being

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diffused (among their followers or, rather, those credibly claimed to be their followers), the overall movement is a left to right shift out of individualized contexts and into collectivised contexts.

Reverse Entrepreneurs

While British ASH was successfully appropriating Ash Wednesday, American ASH was getting a bloody nose trying to gate-crash NICSH. This suggests that British ASH is more towards the caste-ist pole than is American ASH. This gains confirmation from the differences in their leadership. Banzhaf founded American ASH and he is still the leader of it: he is dynamically immobile. British ASH was set up by the Royal College of Physicians and the Department of Health and Social Security; that is, the cast system created a new area of concern within its framework, and with this new area came a new position of leadership. Since the activist style of leadership required in this position is not commonly found within castes, the leader was recruited from outside. The first director of ASH, Mike Daube, came to them from Shelter, a comparatively new housing action group, where Mike Daube had developed the requisite skills under the guidance of the charismatic Des Wilson, Shelter's founder and director. Daube's mobility suggests that he is drawn towards caste-ism rather than sectism, and Shelter is certainly a much 'hairier' organization than is ASH. Interestingly, the career of the charismatic Des Wilson has been less successful. As the founder-leader of Shelter he has found it difficult to move on, and he failed in his bid to become a member of Parliament.

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After eight years with ASH, Daube has moved on to become Senior Lecturer in Health Education at Edinburgh University. This is a new position within an old and complex organization. The need for this new field was, one presumes, prefigured in the work of ASH, the Royal College of Physicians, the DHSS, and the Health Education Council and Daube was very clearly the right person to fill its leadership position: consciously or unconsciously he had groomed himself for it. Daube's career, therefore, is largely of his own creation: he has not just moved up the ladder from the sectist Shelter to the caste-ist Edinburgh University, he has had to build the ladder first. At the same time, his entrepreneurialism has carried him in the caste direction; having built the first few rungs of the ladder, the higher ones just seem to appear before him as he ascends. At the appropriate moment, new areas of concern emerge within the caste framework and he is able to move up into them. His career now is not unlike that of Sir George Godber: the WHO's concern with smoking and health opened up in front of him in just the same way as health education has opened up for Mike Daube. Both have come to terms with the routinization of their charisma.

But the first few steps up this ladder are not easy. Mike Daube's successor at ASH is David Simpson who similarly learned his transferrable skills at Shelter (Daube was Youth Director at the same time that Simpson was Scottish Director). From being under Des Wilson at Shelter, Simpson moved to Amnesty International where he was Director of the British Section under the overall leadership of the chairman, The Reverend Paul Oestreicher. Amnesty International is a centralized organization:

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its headquarters are in London and it has local sections in many countries around the world. Though it concerns itself with a single powerful issue, it is strongly biased towards legal professionalism. It is therefore, in our classification, more a sect than a caste but its centralization, its professionalism, its considerable and increasing influence, and the mobility of some of its salaried officers, suggests that its leadership is now performing that sectist trick of being in two places at once: up there with the castes and down there with its followers. Simpson's move from Amnesty International to ASH requires no justification within the caste context--it is what one expects to happen there--but such mobility, such issue-hopping, is not what the members of a sect expect of their leaders. Simpson therefore has to explain to them that he is abandoning the political prisoners in their cells only because there are other unfortunates, smokers, whose plight is even worse. That, at any rate, is how it works out in Britain but when we look at what is happening in America we find Ralph Nader choosing not to take the very same humanitarian step that David Simpson, in all conscience, could not refuse. It may be worth our while to look a little deeper into this remarkable contradiction. Why didn't Nader go into anti-smoking?

Simpson's stated reason for moving to ASH was that the cost in 'lives, misery and ill-health'* incurred in smoking was, in the aggregate, greater than that caused by torture. His justification for moving is essentially statistical. Nader, at the time he decided to enter the nuclear power field, justified his decision not to go into the smoking

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field on the grounds that the relationship between smoking and death, misery, and ill-health was 'only statistical'.** What on earth is going on here? How can a statistical relationship justify both going in and staying out?

Amnesty International has a strong bias towards the legal profession and so too had Nader's organization, but British ASH has not. Its bias, as David Simpson explained, is towards the control of communication: increasing, through health education, the dissemination of knowledge about the harmful effects of smoking and decreasing, by applying pressure on government, the dissemination through tobacco advertising of the attractions of smoking. Statistical connections are of no use to a lawyer fighting a courtroom battle. He must be able to say 'this cigarette (or this radiation leak) gave my client cancer'. A statistical connection will only allow him to say that it is possible that the cancer was caused in that way; and that won't win him many cases. But statistics are marvelous tools for extracting the desired health and educational policies (and the desired legislation) from government.

So far so good..... but Banzhaf is a lawyer and he is right there in the movement that Nader refuses to join! What makes these two men unusual is that they customarily use courtroom tactics in public forums. Not only are they both lawyers but they both use the law in an identical way--the pursuit of their public interest aims. What differentiates them is that Nader has established a general opposition practice while Banzhaf's practice is confined to opposing smoking. Nader speaks (or, rather, credibly claims to speak) on behalf of consumers and we are

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*As reported in The Guardian, Friday, February 23, 1978.

**At the recent Hanford Debate in response to a question from the audience as to why he had chosen to crusade against nuclear power instead of against smoking. Another reason he gave was that the laws against smoking were unenforceable.

all consumers. Banzhaf speaks only on behalf of non-smokers who, by definition, constitute less than the whole. Though they use the same tactics, Nader's strategy is essentially caste-ist and Banzhaf's essentially sectist. Nader speaks for all, Banzhaf for some.

Nader, having identified his universal consumer, can then go on to generate a whole complex web of interlocking concerns: all kinds of specific risks face the consumer. Provided he can fight them effectively by his courtroom tactics, he takes them up and his strongly-centralized organization is now concerned with a multiplicity of issues. There are two separate (or separable) aims in anti-smoking: saving lives and recognizing non-smokers' rights. We have argued that the first, since it involves the welfare of the totality, is likely to become the concern of the castes and that the second, since it is concerned with only a part of the whole, is likely to become a sectist issue. Banzhaf occupies only the sectist part of the anti-smoking field and the only part that would interest Nader, the caste-ist part, is unoccupied. So Nader does not hold back because another lawyer is already in there: the only part of the anti-smoking field that is of any interest to him is, in fact, wide open--it is just that, because the link between smoking and health is 'only statistical', he can do nothing with it.*

*In fact he is already in there to the extent that he can be effective. His Health Research Group covers smoking risks along with many others that face the medicine consumer. We have already shown that this group is essentially caste-ist.

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Why Smoking? Why Now?

This resolution of the Simpson/Nader/Banzhaf paradox: the same reason justifying going in and staying out, acting and not acting: provides us with a way of getting back from the world of structure (the horizontal strands of ideas that, cutting across the movements, unite caste-ist pole with caste-ist pole and sectist pole with sectist pole) into the world of substance (the vertical movements that are strung out between those poles). If the linkages of ideas at each level are as powerful as we have argued they are, how come they have not welded these vertical movements into a solid mass? How come the anti-smoking movement, the environmental movement, the women's movement....and so on still each retain, if not complete autonomy, at least a recognizable identity?*

The common strands of ideas--the world of structure--are generated by cosmologies which in turn are associated with variations in social context. Individuals in complex organizations who happen also to be strongly grouped will always adopt the Rectification of Names as their guiding principle, the hermit will always come to meditate upon the Whispered Chosen Truths, and the member of a small egalitarian group will always give

*For instance, in a recent television film about the 'Rainbow Warrior'--the converted trawler belonging to the British Greenpeace Foundation which they interpose between the Icelandic whalers and the whales--the sectist commitment to a single uncompromising cause, the preservation of the whales, was everywhere apparent especially in their bold collective direct action. This same commitment spilled over into some other areas (for instance, the food they ate was wholefood and it was vegetarian) but it did not spill over to other anti-areas. For instance, there was little evidence of anti-technology or anti-industry: their equipment, their rubber boats and their electronic gadgetry were of the highest. And they smoked. Ceaselessly they smoked ordinary brand cigarettes like, to use the industrial metaphor, chimneys.

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credence to the ideal that Small is Beautiful. So the strategies: the goals towards which, given these guiding principles, individuals in different social contexts will aspire, are also generated in the structural world. Strategies are related to the world of substance because they define, not what will happen, but what can happen. What you actually get, out of what it is possible to get, is determined by events within the world of substance: by occasions and by tactics.

A very relevant occasion, as far as anti-smoking is concerned, was the discovery of the link between smoking and cancer (and the later occasions on which further health linkages were discovered). This occasion was, as it were, the seed from which the anti-smoking movement grew: it began the process by which possibility became actuality. But not all possibilities became actualities: if this were to happen, all the anti-movements would have become welded together into one single massive anti-movement. What, then, determines which possibilities happen and which do not? What is it that stops the welding process way short of its potential? The answer is that an individual, to implement his strategy, has to adopt an effective tactic (or set of tactics): he has to be able to do something that will have the effect of bringing him closer to his chosen goal. Nader's courtroom tactics are (or will be) effective in some areas of consumer safety and nuclear power but they would not be effective in the only part of the anti-smoking area that, given his lifesaving strategy, is of interest to him.

We should add that, though Nader (given his chosen tactics) stands to gain nothing by entering anti-smoking, he does stand to lose something if he goes in. These 'reverse entrepreneurs' do not measure

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their success in terms of personal fortune (a measure of the 'common entrepreneur's' achievement in bringing hitherto sacrosanct resources into the market place) but in terms of the quantity and scope of regulatory legislation that they have procured (a measure of their achievement in tying resources to specific ends and thereby removing them from the marketplace). Neither Nader nor his hard-worked staff accumulate much by way of the former and few worldly pleasures come their way; but one that does is smoking. A reverse entrepreneur has to deny himself those pleasures that he seeks to deny to others. David Simpson must be a non-smoker if he is to become Director of ASH and, before he could join Amnesty International he would have to eschew torture. Neither of these requirements presented much of a problem--he was already a non-smoker and he was not addicted to pulling out people's toenails--but there would be a serious loss of morale if those smokers on Nader's staff had to give up this simple pleasure for the sake of a territorial adventure of dubious outcome. So Nader stays out and the anti-nuclear movement does not coalesce with the anti-smoking movement.

From the other side, Banzhaf is able to use exactly the same courtroom tactics as Nader in pursuit of a different, a sectist, goal; but, since such strategies require simple single issues, he cannot diversify into other fields. Since history and contingent circumstance inevitably play a large part in determining occasions and in determining what tactics people adopt in response to these occasions, the advantages (for both theory and analysis) of transferring our attention from substance to structure are considerable. If you understand what can happen then you can make some sense out of what does happen, but not the other way round.

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VI
CONTENT ANALYSIS OF
U.S. ANTI-SMOKING GROUP COMMUNICATIONS

Why should anyone want to conduct a content analysis? One answer is akin to the mountain-climber's now-famous justification: "Because it is there." In those human interactions between individuals and/or groups where communication -- i.e., the production (encoding) and interpretation (decoding) of representational signs and symbols -- it is to be expected that the messages would be a form for study merely to describe the kinds of exchanges taking place.

A second purpose is more analytical. Since messages are not randomly created, the analysis of their content may allow for inferences about prior state or intentions of those that produce and issue such messages. By the same token, since they are not trivially received, they can lead to inferences about possible effects -- e.g., changes in meaning, belief, perhaps even behavior -- of those exposed to such messages. Of course, these are only inferences and must be subjected to further scrutiny before being accepted as established, let alone proven.

There is a third purpose, somewhat more "scientific." Given speculation and conceptualizations -- one may call them theories -- of the motivations of certain message producers, the analysis of their output can provide a means of testing those conjectures. Equally, analysis of message systems can be used to test individuals form, maintain, and change their beliefs through communication.

All three roles of content analysis were addressed in this study in varying degrees, all modest. As befits a pilot study, the most considerable effort was in developing descriptive schema for analysis of

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dominant themes, appeals and persuasive techniques, as outlined in the appendix section. A main goal of the exercise was to make inferences about the preoccupations and motives of the anti-smoking groups from a study of their communications; some of this was realized but the main work on this aspect remains to be _____ done. The ultimate goal of relating the content to the theory of how such groups form, organize and function could hardly be realized in the limited time period since the theory evolved simultaneously with the content analysis. Toward the end, however, we were able to conduct a preliminary test analysis of the content to test certain propositions of the theoretical model. This is described in some detail at the close of this section, both as a potential test of the theory and as an illustration of how the content analysis can be employed for such purposes.

It should be noted at the outset that there is no one methodology or technique of content analysis. Rather, the term applies to an array of procedures that may be employed to explore samples of messages, the particular focus for investigation varying with the goals of the individual researcher. Thus, one may / ^{focus} on the explicit, manifest content, others on its more latent aspects and meanings. Some concentrate on the content as such — the "what" of the message -- others on its style or form (the "how"). Some emphasize major, grossly categorized themes, others on the fine-grained details of presentation. The methods of analysis may vary considerably, depending on purpose, predisposition and availability of resources.

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As a result, most of what follows--a discussion of internal membership newsletters and reports by anti-smoking groups--should be taken cum grano salis (not to mention a puff of smoke) as far as firm conclusions are concerned. Rather than report precise percentages, which may be misleading in sampling terms, we will focus on the main trends in the data, which are more reliable for our purposes here. The reader interested in a detailed discussion, as well as presentation of data, should see the three appendices.

Overall Findings.

The initial approach to those data is in terms of the trends in coverage across all groups to see which they feature in common before we examine them individually. A number of findings dominate the analysis on this level and warrant the following generalizations:

- 1) The largest category of statements regarding smoking link it directly with hazardous health. This is obviously due in part to the composition and causes of the groups themselves, concentrated as they are on health issues. It is also due to the fact that the main arguments against smoking is related to cancer, heart and pulmonary disease. Every new finding is hailed as further justification for the positions the particular groups have championed. In the process, it also serves the important function of maintaining group cohesion and solidarity.

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2) It is to be expected that the evidence featured by any advocacy group is apt to be selective to their position, and this is no exception. The results of study after study -- good, bad or indifferently conducted -- are paraded one after the other as long as they suggest the private or public negative effects of smoking. On occasion, some contrary study or lecture is cited, but only if they feel they can refute the claims. It is apparent that these groups feel that most of the evidence is on their side, that they "have a good thing going" and all they have to do is assemble and disseminate it.

3) There is also a strong tendency to let the data speak for themselves. Results and conclusions are asserted with little attempt at justification. They don't feel it needs any. It also avoids side-tracking discussions; getting into debates or arguments, internal and external; mentioning the other point-of-view on controversial issues, and belaboring nuances in lieu of generalized conclusions.

4) Another dominant impression -- accounting for perhaps a fourth to a third of all statements -- concerns advocated actions to further the cause of inhibiting and prohibiting smoking. It is at this point that the groups transform from advice-giving to political activists. Such entrepreneurs of change seek not only to reinforce their supporters' dispositions but to urge them to get involved in state, regional and local bodies to regulate the smoking behavior of others in public and

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semi-public place. Again, they do so selectively and side-step some apparent inconsistencies -- e.g., avoiding the obvious incompatibility of segregating smokers to "the back of the bus" at a time when equality of access is being advanced (often by the very same individuals advocating smoking barriers).

5) The underlying themes and values of the literature are more implicit than explicit. They are taken as articles of faith shared by the membership -- assumptions that are so evident that they don't require continuous repetition -- but are constantly present nevertheless. They include the safeguarding of individual health, a clean environment, the reduction of risk and more recently, as noted above, political action to translate these noble enough concerns into law.

6) We had expected to find another pervasive theme of opposition to industry and big business but were surprised not to find much evidence of this manifest or even lurking on a more latent level. To be sure, there are criticisms of the tobacco industry per se (the natural opponent of the anti-smoking groups and somewhat of the health groups) but little of this generalizes to the general industrial complex, the profit motive, the capitalist system, etc. This does not necessarily mean that at least some of the anti-smoking leadership do not harbor such feelings, but merely that they choose not to express them explicitly or even to draw inferences to them. It may even be a deliberate ploy to avoid such entanglements with larger issues that could introduce a degree of dissonance within the group and possibly lead to defections. When non-tobacco industry was alluded to it was normally in the context that smoking by workers affects productivity, both on the job and through absenteeism due to attendant illness.

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7) We were also interested in the kinds of reasoning used by the groups in making their various points. As noted above, the largest single technique involved straightforward presentation -- merely stating a given problem, offering a particular solution, presenting data, information or evidence, or, in some cases, merely assertions reinforcing "the truth" of the evils of tobacco. When certain persuasive appeals were used (perhaps 25% of the time) they included the familiar tactic of resorting to prestigious sources (recognized leaders, authoritative individuals, or organizations), some use of fear appeal, a dose of common sense, and a —————→ modest degree of arguing by analogy, use of examples and the like. A third major category of reasoning might be referred to as uniting values, invoked in the service of fostering group cohesion. This took the form of stressing mutuality of interests, bandwagon effects, the need for group identity and unity, all under the "Smoking is evil" banner.

8) When the encompassing theories are examined in terms of their attendant conceptual features, we find a similar picture, although with some different emphases. For example, at this level of analysis, especially when the legal action/advocacy role of the organization is stressed, the largest single category concerns the government with its legal, legislative and administrative functions. Not surprisingly, the main pitch here is for government to step in and regulate the public's smoking behavior "for their own good," bordering on a paternalistic role. It is at this point that the opposing role of the tobacco industry is often introduced, stressing its political and economic clout, and the need to mobilize political support to counter such "entrenched

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power." In addition to the references to the variety of human ailments affected by smoking, the increasing concern for the immediate physical environment is introduced -- smoking as a social as well as individual nemesis, and hence the even greater need for concerted action to segregate if not to ban the smoker for fouling the atmosphere. Oddly enough, there was little evidence of linking this atmospheric environmental concept with other types of pollution. Since, for certain of these groups, at least, we expect such linkages, we are not yet ready to accept their relative absence as an established disconfirmation; we prefer to suggest that with a better theory of linkages, we will be able to unearth the key connections. Some such connections are illustrated at the end of this chapter.

9) In addition to advocating direct governmental intervention, there is a somewhat lesser but still pronounced call for educating the public (particularly but not only the young) to the effects of smoking in various institutions such as schools and hospitals, by role models and the like. There is also an apparent faith in the power of the mass media to influence -- not only in advocating their use to educate the public but to counteract the cigarette industry's advertising and to reduce the sheer incidence of smoking in film and television drama. Having won the battle of banning cigarette advertising on television they now are aiming for eliminating the indirect advertising introduced through the sponsorship of sports events, their attendant billboard displays, etc.

10) There was also an attempt to assess the depth or intensity of the coverage of the various themes and concepts. Insofar as this limited analysis could be conducted, it testifies to a broad but relatively shallow coverage. That is, a considerable variety of issues,

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concerns and appeals are raised but none is singled out for very detailed treatment. Rather, the strategy appears to be to make inroads on as many fronts as possible without penetrating too far on any one (other than the overarching health issues, that is), relying on the sum total to press the main points rather than detailed and prolonged persuasion on any one, but counting on the whole being greater —————> than the sum of its parts. If this is indeed a deliberate strategy (we cannot be sure of this, of course, since it may be an incidental by-product of other considerations) it is not a new one for caste-like groups to utilize, although we would not expect it of the sects (see further analysis in later parts of this section). This finding is also in keeping with the earlier comments about the relative lack of justifications and debating-points in presenting their collective case.

Individual Group Findings.

The relative preoccupation of the six groups selected for study in this pilot effort is readily revealed when we analyze each according to the various concerns and appeals indicated earlier for the aggregate of anti-smoking groups. While there is considerable overlap in their allocations of attention, there are substantial between-group differences, testifying to a differentiation of interest and of separated turfs. One is even tempted to speak of an agreed-upon division of labor between the groups, although further evidence, including supportive evidence outside the content analysis as such, is needed to document such a claim.

The three illness-focused/voluntary medical organizations -- the American Cancer Society (ACS), American Heart Association (AHA) and American Lung Association (ALA) -- have the individual and his health as their primary concerns. All three exhibit an interest in the environ-

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ment as well but, in keeping with its primary mission, this is more pronounced for the ALA. For some reason, the AHA engages in somewhat more counter-persuasive activities than do the other two groups.

In contrast, the Group Against Smokers' Pollution (GASP) and the Action on Smoking and Health (ASH), despite the latter's title, tend to downplay health issues, as such, relative to the illness-related groups. Instead they put their main efforts in influencing governmental action to regulate smoking. For GASP, this preoccupation is shared somewhat with environmental concerns and in restricting smoking on the job and in public places as well as related broad social issues. ASH has a similar spread of concerns but also tends to feature more direct persuasive argumentation than does GASP and the voluntary medical organizations.

That leaves the National Interagency Council on Smoking and Health (NICHHS), which, in keeping with its ecumenical nature, shows a broader division of activity over all sectors than does any of the other groups. NICHHS was apparently established to see that policies of the voluntary medical organizations, which are ^{among} its constituent members, are implemented into law. Accordingly, we find this lobbying role to make up the single largest category of its activity — and the correspondingly lower coverage for such action in the ACS, AHA and ALA publications — although ^{also} it demonstrates concerns with dissuasive activities, individual health, the environment and educational activities.

According to ASH's leader, Dr. Banzhaf, the function of the voluntary medical organizations is to translate research results into a form making them useful for political action, while the function of the

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activist groups (his own included) is to get the results translated into effective regulation and legislation (a distinction which tends to ignore NICSH). But, whatever the relative roles of ASH, GASP and NICSH, it is clear from the data that these organizations are primarily concerned with effecting the restriction or prohibition of smoking while the three medical organizations are more directly concerned with research justifying such interventions. We are reluctant to identify this as a proscribed, mutually agreed-upon division of labor, although it sure looks like one.

Of course, the specific materials selected from the various organizations influence the exact division of content. For example, the ACS communications analyzed here features a ten-year action program. But, while there is some advocacy of action in the ACS materials, this is more directed at individual behavior or other micro-level changes than through government, in accord with the above-mentioned functional division. The AHA material features congressional testimony, and although it shows ^{an interest} / for the individual and his health it exhibits a stronger concern with dissuasion than does the ACS, a characteristic also showed by NICSH. The ALA material features a pamphlet designed to persuade smokers to quit the habit. It makes direct assertions — more than any other group — in espousing its particular cause of pulmonary diseases that may be initiated or aggravated by continued smoking.

Among the activist groups it would appear from this literature that ASH is the more active. Over half of the content of ASH's communications advocate specific actions against smoking while GASP spends per-

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haps a third of its discourse on such advocacy. —————> ASH has testified before Congress and regulatory commissions for restrictions on smoking; its head is a lawyer (who also teaches in a Washington, D.C. school of law), and many of the actions he advocates involve court cases. On the other hand, NICSH, a caste-ist professional organization, has a much stronger interest in lobbying. These different interests are also reflected in the differential attention given to policy — relatively higher for NICSH than for ASH.

Testing the Theory.

The theory development and the content analysis proceeded on parallel but essentially separate courses -- the right hand in New York not knowing what the left hand in London was doing -- and rightly so. Both had to be developed adequately on their own for them to be related at some later point so that the results of the content analysis can be selectively employed to test certain propositions -- predictions, if you will -- derived from the theory. This still remains to be done in detail (again, the limitations inherent in a short-term pilot study have to be invoked) but we offer some suggestions of what can be done with a few examples from the present data.

The theory that has been developed in the organizational analysis -- indeed, the organizational analysis, though it is in there, has been made subservient to the theory -- has a double novelty: the anthropological approach is not commonly applied to this sort of problem, nor is this particular approach yet common currency within anthropology. Complex and unfamiliar though this theory may be, it revolves around one simple hypothesis: the sanskritization process by which two kinds of collectivist tendencies, caste-ism and sectism, may be transformed

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one into the other. Sects and castes should separate out according to whether they have simple single-issue aims or complex multi-issue aims. This they do reasonably well, and a multiplicity of secondary criteria serve to sharpen rather than blur this primary distinction, as reported in the chapter, "Anti-Smoking and the Sanskritization of America." This analysis reaches dizzy theoretic heights —————→
←—————→ and it is sorely in need of some sort of rigorous testing. One purpose of the content analysis is to prove such an exercise possible.

1. The Separation of Castes and Sects. The first unusual prediction from the theory is that the various anti-groups should fall into two very different varieties -- castes and sects -- and all the other predictions follow from the assumption that this is so. This implies that the aggregate content analysis will be of less assistance in this report (though, of course, it has other uses, such as testing other rival theories).than the results taken group by group.

Looking to the content analysis, we find this distinction reflected in about the crudest, most basic measure it is possible to apply -- the number of terms per unit. The literature of the caste-ist groups (ACS, AHA, ALA, and NICSH) all have three or more terms per unit while the two sectist organizations (ASH and GASP) each have less than two terms per unit. This clear separation indicates that there is a fundamental difference in their modes of discourse: the castes tend to say several things at once, the sects one thing at a time. So, not only is the predicted separation there, it also seems to fit the socio-linguist's distinction between the elaborated code and the restricted code -- a

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distinction that has been shown to be underpinned by differences in the level of prescription imposed upon an individual by his social context. *

2. The lack of justification. One prediction, which we have mentioned several times, is that the cosmologies — the various contradictory versions of how the world is and of man's place in it — act like an automatic pilot as far as justifications are concerned. In a particular social context a particular cosmology becomes credible and, since it furnishes an individual with his convictions about what is natural (and what is unnatural), his justifications are taken care of. To insist that the world is other than the way he and his fellows see it would be to fly in the face of nature. So the theory suggests we should not be surprised to find that in all the anti-smoking debate there is very little justification.

This is one test that can be applied right across the board to all the anti-smoking groups, and the prediction is supported. Indeed, so noticeable is the absence of justification that we have already been picked up and pointed to at several points —————→ in the preceding summary of the content analysis, and is a salient feature of that summary. So lack of justification there certainly is, and the theory can only say "I told you so!".

3. Saving lives or putting smokers in their place. The separation of aims — concern for life going to the castes and punitive action against smokers going to the sects — is one of the key predictions of

* Bernstein, Basil, Class, Codes and Control, Penguin, London.

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the theory. It can be put to the test in examining the concerns —————>
of the anti-smoking groups, most relevant being the —————>
<————> "Health" (reflecting a concern for life) and "Polity" (the channel
through which smokers can be forced to respect the rights of non-smokers)
categories. In examining those data it should be borne in mind that the three
castes (ACS, AHA and ALA) appear more than once since they are all
members of the NICSH. The theory predicts that, being caste-ist, these
professional groups will each speak out about the effects of smoking
on that part of the human body that belongs to them and that they will
negotiate between themselves (and the other 31 members of NICSH) so as
to be able to present a unified and orderly caste-ist front when making
policy-relevant statements. This, it turns out, is what they do.

Each speaks out on "Health" to a relatively substantial extent
with NICSH having correspondingly less to say on the subject. When it
comes to "Polity", however, it is NICSH that speaks more loudly than
the professional groups. So the prediction about how the caste-ist
groups will conform to their organizing principle, The Rectification
of Names, is supported by the content analysis.

What about the predictions concerning how they differ from the
sectists? Within the castes it is the professional groups that should
speak out on "health" and speak out they do to a very substantial degree
indeed, averaging about 30 percent of their total output to this one
concern. But the sects say scarcely anything about health (on the order
of 5-6%) -- roughly a 6:1 ratio testifying that the castes are more
concerned with saving lives than are the sects.

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When we look at "Polity" the concerns are reversed, though not quite so spectacularly. The NICSH does the speaking for the professional groups on this topic and it has quite a lot to say (well above that which the separate volunteer medical organizations have to offer). But when we come to the sects, they have even more to say (over a third of all output for both ASH and GASP). Since the sects have so little concern with health, as such, whatever it is that they have to say cannot have much to do with saving lives. It must, therefore, be about the other aim — putting smokers in their place.

4. Other Focused Tests. In principle, there are a number of other aspects of the theory and its postulates that can be put to test with the content data, though doing it in practice is another matter, at least not the way the content analysis data are presently arranged. In fact, now that the theory, unrefined though it still is, is systematic enough to be pinned down, as it were, on many of its specific points, what is needed is a more deliberate and painstaking analysis of the communication content of the various groups on both sides of the Atlantic for the specific purpose of testing those propositions.

Thus, if the theory reasons that there is a pronounced class bias among the anti-smoking establishment, we should be able to detect that to some extent in the literature of those groups (the extent may be limited to the degree that the group leadership may deliberately downgrade certain characteristics of their groups for "political purposes"). It would have been nice if the existing content analysis, conducted independently, had provided some data to test such a prediction. However, since it wasn't anticipated it wasn't coded for such a purpose. Now, it — or better still, an enlarged, more representative sample —

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should be examined specifically for this purpose, with special codes, terms, categories and the like. By the same token, if the theory detects a certain ambivalence among the anti-groups, leading to a desire to restructure the society to render it more compatible to their anti-materialism, anti-industry, anti-technology position, that too should be more directly testable with a sensitive set of content categories set up for that purpose on a priori grounds — and so on for other such propositions.

Quite apart from the caste/sect theory as such, systematic content analysis can be utilized to investigate other developments in the cigarette smoking arena. Take two examples -- one old, the other quite novel:

1) If the tar and nicotine in the tobacco has been identified as the culprit, it seems reasonable to spur efforts to cut down those ingredients while preserving enough of the taste. That is what has been done, with regular listings of the various brands and their respective contents to the nearest hundredth of a decimal point, just like the EPA estimates for the new cars each year. But what if -- as some theories posit, and supported by empirical evidence -- there is really a tobacco addiction such that an established smoker has to get his daily "nicotine fix"? Under such circumstances, they would need to smoke many more cigarettes to reach their daily minimum, thus contributing to even more pollution to the environment. We can understand the tobacco companies not pushing this issue since it probably means a larger total cigarette consumption, but what if a strong, authoritatively-backed report was issued to that effect? How would the

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anti-smoking groups react, individually or collectively? They too are as vulnerable to unanticipated consequences and undesirable side-effects as the next group, but it is not clear just what we would expect them to do — ignore the report completely, attempt a full and detailed rebuttal, pooh-pooh it as trivial, or perhaps even embrace it, admit they were fooled in the past, and use that as a basis for a renewed total banning campaign? What does the theory say about such instances according to the different groups involved? Might this be the opening wedge to separate the sects from the castes? If so, how would each react in their internal and public communications?

2. There has recently been suggested legislation requiring that all cigarettes be treated so that they automatically expire within a given time period (one minute?) if left lit but unattended. We are not sure of the technical feasibility for such an alleged anti-fire action but we can envisage some possible incongruity and discomfort for the anti-smoker community. On the one hand, they wouldn't want to appear to be against fire safety; on the other hand, such a mechanism would probably mean more cigarettes smoked, more sales for their nemesis, the tobacco companies, etc. Can we predict how they would react? The acid test of any theory is not so much in retroactive testing — how well it stands up in data already collected and analyzed — but how well it can predict into the future. The tactic is to await or provoke such critical events to see how well such predictions hold up. Even without a theory standing by, it could be fun just to see how they would react to occasions such as the above, but one has to get set to do so ahead of time, otherwise it will be too late.

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One last comment. This summary of the content analysis and its possibilities has not dealt with the decoding or effects level of the communication process: given such content and persuasive appeals, how can we expect the public to respond to it? Do they accept it, believe it, change their opinions any? What about their behavior? How does the leadership react, and what does the group membership get out of it? These are answerable questions to a degree but it requires a carefully-designed effects study to find out those answers. Without actual data, we can only speculate on what any such effects may be. While an interesting enough intellectual exercise, it is an idle one without some sort of systematic data to back it up.

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VII

PRELIMINARY PROPOSAL FOR A STUDY TO BE ENTITLED
"THE POLITICAL CULTURE OF ANTI-SMOKING GROUPS"

Our pilot study has generated what we believe to be a powerful theory explaining the motives and behavior of anti-smoking groups and their leaders. We have also developed content analysis into an original and persuasive methodological tool for testing theories of political culture. Illustrations of these tests, many more of which would be done, are presented in our discussion of the content of the content analyses. What is more, the theory and the method are applicable on a comparative basis to other countries and cultures outside of the United States and Great Britain. While we will confine our work to these two countries, we would be happy to provide assistance to scholars who wish to apply the method and theory to other domains.

This pilot project has also revealed weaknesses in our information base that would, when corrected, enable us to expand both our theoretical development and tests of these hypotheses. We refer to two kinds of information in our two countries: biographical data on group leaders (who may be virtually all there is to the group), and political data on strategies and tactics in the legislative and administrative arenas.

Biographical data is available from standard public sources. Career patterns can be adduced from directories, publicity handout, in-house publications, and newspapers. Interviews with leaders, if a search is made, are also generally available. With this data it is

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possible to say where leaders have come from and where they go. They can be placed into sect and caste and their behavior explained (and predicted and tested) accordingly.

The behavior to be explained becomes richer and more varied when we know more about how grand objectives are set (the strategies) and how they are achieved (the tactics). Hearings, debates, articles, newspaper stories, all contain accounts of how anti-smoking groups interact with government. Does this behavior, we will ask, bear out our theories of political culture? To the extent it does, we will have explained, accounted for that behavior. But that is not all.

Once we have an understanding of what anti-smoking groups do, and why they do it, we will be in a much better position than any one has been, we believe, to assess the relative efficacy of (a) their strategies and tactics and (b) those designed to counter them.

Assume, for the moment, that the theory has been vindicated in that, when fully tested against the content analysis, it comes out with flying colors. What use will it be to our clients?

First and foremost, it will alter their perception of what it is that is happening. They will gain a new and deeper understanding of their predicament. This new understanding of just what it is that they are up against will enable them to be much more discriminating in their efforts to counter their opponents. That is, they could on the basis of this analysis refine their tactics--throwing more resources into those that the theory suggests are likely to be effective and less into those that the theory suggests are either ineffective or else downright

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in addition to harmful. But, / these tactical changes that such an increase in discriminatory power makes possible, the theory also suggests that it may be well worth while making some major shifts in strategy. Beyond making changes in how they counter the opposition, our clients may also benefit by making changes in who they consider to constitute the opposition. Once they can distinguish one kind of opposition from another, it may be worth their while to make friends with some of them--those that cannot be beaten!

Some examples:

1. The main basis for this increased discrimination is the distinction between castes and sects and the understanding of the interplay between them. Before you can decide how to counter an anti-smoking group you have to know what kind of a group it is. This we can tell you. If it is a sect--a real sect--it will be impotent so why bother about it? If it is a caste then that is a serious matter. If it is a quite powerful sectist leader with his phantom followers behind him, that is quite serious. The best way to handle such an opponent would be to act so as to encourage him to move closer to his followers down in the trough of impotence. He only has power because of his skill in pretending to be in two places at once--up there on the power slopes, with his followers right behind him, negotiating with the castes (the professional and governmental groups) and down there inside the wall of virtue that insulates his followers from any contact with this evil outside world. So anything that helps to reveal the deception will tend to increase his impotence and, once he and his followers are impotent, they can safely be ignored. This study has certainly made one thing clear and it is that there is nothing, absolutely nothing, that the tobacco companies could do that would satisfy _____

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a sect leadership such as War on Want's...except going bankrupt. Since there is no way you can negotiate with them, encouraging them to move back down into impotence where they can then be ignored is not just the best tactic to adopt--it is the only one.

Making friends with some of the present opposition within the castes, by driving a wedge between them and the sects, may be one way to act to reduce sectist powers. Sects and castes are not natural allies and it might be a good idea to consider which present the more serious avoidable long- term threat.

In any event, castes undoubtedly are the serious opposition. It may be possible to take on the immature castes such as exist in the United States at present but the mature British castes are another matter. Macmillan, when asked what he thought of Heath's handling of the strike that brought down his (Heath's) government, said:

I have always considered it most unwise to take on
the Brigade of Guards, the Roman Catholic Church and
the National Union of Mine workers.

The same, as far as the tobacco companies are concerned, probably holds for those solidly established castes that enjoy the deference of the rest of the population. But at least castes do not make the impossible demands that sects make. They don't want prohibition; they are in favor of mitigation. They encourage the search for lower tar cigarettes, and they accept that smoking can give satisfaction. So it is possible to make friends with castes and still stay in business, and making friends with them may help to drive a swedge between them and the insatiable sects. In doing this the tobacco companies may be doing us all a favor.

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2. The activities and successes of the reverse entrepreneurs are proof that at present many negotiables are / ^{being} converted to absolutes and that few are making the journey the other way. The tobacco companies keep finding themselves on the wrong side of this moving frontier and some deeper understanding of how it moves, how far it is likely to move in the future, and how much could be done to prevent it moving in certain directions, would be a great help in guiding decisions as to what to get into and what to stay out of.

For instance, if conservation and preventive medicine--two areas in which both sects and castes are currently active--are here to stay, how do we estimate where the frontier will end up? It is more likely to end up where the castes want it to be than where the sects would like it to be. So from all the welter of regulatory demands that are being made, separate out those that are being made by the castes (especially by mature castes) and diversify outside those limits.

These suggestions are not comprehensive. We have not been briefed on how our clients see their predicament nor are we privy to their present tactics and strategies in countering the forces of anti-smoking. They are simply ideas that have sprung up out of our involvement in this pilot study but we feel sure that, if we were to be asked to develop them properly, we could come up with some well-organized, precise, optimistic, unexpected and useable suggestions.

This project would take one year. The level of effort would be enhanced by an additional research associate.

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APPENDIX I
METHOD OF CONTENT ANALYSIS FOR STUDYING
ANTI-SMOKING GROUPS

The groups of concern to the present study are those which have taken a position against smoking. —————> The focus of these groups on opposition to smoking, especially on the smoking of cigarettes, meant that the content of their communications could be indexed by a limited number of terms. (For the sampled documents, 313 indexing terms were needed.) These terms were studied from the standpoint of how they indexed the content of this literature and the intensity of that content. That is, we were able to make a distinction between vocabulary and how that vocabulary was used.

Like the study of artificially —————> created groups studied under laboratory conditions, the study of natural groups has its own methodology. Unlike the study of artificial groups in which the experimenter manipulates the groups to test cause-effect relationships, the methods used in studying natural groups all are non-manipulative. We want to understand the groups without disturbing their natural processes.

The general approach which runs the least risk of disturbing natural groups while permitting their study is a set of techniques called "unobtrusive measures." "Unobtrusive" means that the members of the group are not aware that they are being studied and that the observer does not become part of the group, as he would if he were using the "participant observation" method. One way to conduct an unobtrusive study is to examine the records left by the group in the public domain. Newsletters, annual reports and press releases, for instance can tell us both what a group does and what it says.

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Since
/most of the anti-smoking groups in the U.S. are public service corporations, we can expect to learn a great deal about their actions from the public record. The rest of these groups, such as The National Commission on Smoking and Public Policy, are transient in nature. While they never went through the complex process of obtaining a public charter, still their purpose was to persuade the public in part by leaving a record of anti-smoking actions. Here, too, the literature contains an adequate record of their actions.

Just as the public record allows us to find out some things the groups in our study have been doing, it allows us to find out even more about what they say about themselves and their cause. When we started this study we thought that there might be a difference between communications directed to the members of the groups and communications directed to the general public, that is, between internal and external communications. This distinction, however, has not been very useful, because newsletters sent to all the members, for example, also go to outside individuals and groups as information and recruiting devices.

Another distinction we thought might be helpful deals with when these communications were published. Specifically, to study change over time, to see, for instance, whether they were less guarded in their early years, we wanted to find out if the material published around 1978 differed from that published around 1974. It turned out that there was no apparent difference.

Thus by applying unobtrusive methods to the documents published by the anti-smoking groups, it was possible to obtain some description both of what they do and what they say. Next we describe how this knowledge was obtained. Before going into the description, however, it is necessary to say how we got the data in the first place.

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How the data was obtained.--In order to answer these questions by unobtrusive means, then, we drew upon a set of documents, mostly from the mid and late 1970's, collected over the years by the Tobacco Institute. The documents collected for content analysis purposes consisted of newsletters, brochures and press releases. $\leftarrow \rightarrow$ Excluding the Congressional hearings, about 3,000 pages of anti-smoking literature representing 22 national and local groups was collected.

The upshot was that we selected/31 items from the publications of six leading/anti-smoking groups which gave a good representation of the scope of their anti-smoking communications. The groups involved were :

Three voluntary medical organizations (VMO's):

American Cancer Society (ACS)

American Lung Association (ALA)

American Heart Association (AHA)

One umbrella organization:

National Interagency Council on Smoking and Health (NICSH)

Two activist groups:

Action on Smoking and Health (ASH)

Group Against Smokers' Pollution (GASP).

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The data for our preliminary study of the content of the anti-smoking communications produced by these six leading U.S. groups, then, was obtained by coding the 383 discrete expressive units found in the 31 items selected for their representativeness of the communications coming from these groups. The data consisted of the 370 terms needed to represent the content of these units and the frequency with which each term was used. These frequencies indicate which topics were of greatest concern to the anti-smoking groups, and which topics were of less concern, but the frequency counts have no statistical implications, because the sample is not a statistical sample. Our main result was the topics, not the frequencies. The topics show the scope of the anti-smoking groups' concerns.

The "smoking epidemic" report of the World Health Organization (WHO) also had to be treated within the constraints of the project. The 87-page length of this document precluded a detailed content analysis. On the other hand, the detailed analysis applied to the 31 U.S. items was not necessary if we were primarily concerned with the scope of the anti-smoking groups' concerns. Thus we limited our work on this report to finding ideas not already found in the U.S. literature. This analysis produced 210 additional terms. Ultimately, we \longleftrightarrow identified a vocabulary of 580 indexing terms needed to describe the content of our representative selection of the U.S. and WHO anti-smoking literature.

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How the data was sorted.--The data in question consisted of the 580 indexing terms identifying the content of the 31 items we had carefully selected to represent the publications of six key U.S. anti-smoking groups plus additional content introduced by the WHO "smoking epidemic" report. —————> For each of the terms found in the U.S. documents, we had counted the number of times that term had been used, understanding that because of the sample size such counts could only indicate relative emphasis. What we wanted now was a way of sorting these terms according to what they were about (their subjects) and how the terms were treated (their facets).

The reader should understand that an iterative —————> process was involved in identifying, sorting and counting the uses of these 580 indexing terms. The items selected by purposive sampling were cut up into expressive units; the units were summarized by a set of topics; the topics were translated into indexing terms; each term was entered on a card; the places on the coding sheets where the term had been assigned were noted on the appropriate card; and the term was entered on classification schedules by subject and facet. As the number of terms built up, clusters of terms were formed; potential new terms were compared with terms already in use to determine their necessity; fine points of meaning were distinguished; and the previous indexing was reviewed and corrected to conform with the newly-identified terms. It is not necessary to dwell on this iterative process, however. Once we know that the sorting of the terms was part of an iterative process, we can assume that process and consider the sorting of the indexing terms as a separate task.

Essentially, clusters of terms, subjects and facets are three independent dimensions of the content of this literature. The task is to collapse this

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three-dimensional space into a one-dimensional list. This collapse is accomplished through classification. —————> In such a classification the unassociated terms and term lists set up to hold the clusters of related terms ought to be subordinated to the facets and subjects. In the tables reported in the appendix to this chapter, the classifications are organized first by facet and then by subject. This method of organization recognized the small, limited number of facets, which specify how the antismoking groups expressed their concerns, and the potentially large number of subjects which would be needed to index the substance of these concerns.

Ultimately, six facets were identified. -- Theme, Assertion, Advocated Action, Justification, Policy and Persuasive Tactic. The facets were defined as follows:

- THEME = A broad, underlying concern more general than smoking, such as a concern about environmental quality or an emphasis on risk reduction.
- ASSERTION = The subject of an expression of concern, such as the consumption of cigarettes or the gross number of smokers.
- ADVOCATED ACTION = A step or category of steps designed to alleviate or eliminate what is seen as an evil attributed to smoking, such as mobilizing public support or restricting smoking in the workplace.
- JUSTIFICATION = A reason for an assertion, advocated action or policy. A common reason used by smoking opponents is the impact that smoking is believed to have on nonsmokers.
- POLICY = A general guideline for action, such as "reduce risk" or "influence public's attitudes."
- PERSUASIVE TACTIC = A specific way of presenting a thought so as to change the mind of the disbeliever. Some of the tactics used in this literature are argumentation from authority and the fear appeal.

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The use of the facets can be illustrated by showing how different treatments of the idea that cigarette use can be suppressed by taxation would be placed under each facet.

1. Expressions of the belief that taxation is a legitimate mechanism of social control, whether explicit or implicit, would be placed under the theme facet.

2. A discussion of the political feasibility of imposing a tax severe enough to exercise such control would be classified under the assertion facet, as would a discussion of consumption elasticity under taxation.

3. A passage advocating a specific tax, such as a cigarette tax graduated by tar and nicotine content, a popular tax in this literature, would be classified under the advocated action facet.

4. The statement that the government ought to use its taxing powers to control cigarette consumption would be taken as a justification. In this literature the cigarette is the chief villain. A mere reference to it constitutes sufficient supporting justification.

5. A general statement that nations ought to design their tax policy to support the policy of controlling cigarette consumption would be placed under the policy facet.

6. Finally, arguments supporting taxation to control cigarette consumption could be supported in a variety of fashions. One tactic would be to cite the success of such a tax in some specific country. If such a presentation merely said that the tax, from the standpoint of these advocates had been successful, then the persuasive tactic would be "Present information." If specific studies were cited and figures on success were given, the tactic would be coded as "Present evidence."

Evidently there is a qualitative difference between the material in the subject facets and that in the other facets. The difference is that this subject facet deals with a very narrow aspect of culture, the knowledge of how to persuade, while the other

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facets, as we will see, deal with the full scope of experience -- nature, man and culture. Because of its narrow scope, we found it convenient merely to list the tactics in the persuasive tactic facet; the general subject classification used to order the terms in the other facets did not apply.

Given the facets as the first criterion for organizing the terms, subject classification was used to sort the terms and term lists in the first five facets. Information science provides many classification schedules which could have been used for this purpose. A simple schedule, which centers on human interaction, was used here. It divides the world into three parts -- nature, the social world arising from human interaction and culture, or the knowledge men share about their world. "Nature" in this system was defined to include all physical phenomena including those produced by man, such as cigarettes. "Nature" also included man as a biological being. Man as a human individual was treated as a social phenomenon. Three spheres of social interaction also were identified -- groups and social institutions, economic institutions and political institutions. Together with the two-tier decimal notation used to code these categories, they were:

- 1.0 Nature
 - 1.1 Environment
 - 1.2 Health
- 2.0 Society
 - 2.1 The individual
 - 2.2 Groups and social institutions
 - 2.3 Economic institutions
 - 2.4 Political institutions
- 3.0 Culture
 - 3.1 Public education
 - 3.2 Persuasion
 - 3.3 Dissuasion

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The placement of terms and groups of terms in the subject categories can be illustrated by the treatment of the term "cigarette." This was the most frequently used term in this literature.

The cigarette was one of fourteen tobacco-related agents, including tobacco itself, which were the targets of attack in this literature. Others were "tar," "enzymes" and "side stream smoke." This list of fourteen agents, then, was given the title "Agents under attack." The list, in turn was grouped with those aspects of reality which were neither social or cultural.-- a list loosely entitled "Nature," which was our first general category. Since the agents under attack were the targets of assertions, this list was placed under "1.0 Nature" in the "Assertions" facet, where it was coded "1.0.3 Agents under attack." As the sixth item on this list, the cigarette was then coded "1.0.3.6 Agents under attack/ Cigarette," where the slash indicates a subdivision. (A double dash as in "Smoke -- main stream" was used to indicate a clarification of the word on the left side of the dashes.)

The decision to put like terms into titled lists was made to keep the classification tables simple. As a practical matter, the purpose of these tables was to make it easy to find the indexing terms, not to show the ultimate logical relationships among them. Since the lists are an empirical product reflecting the content of a body of literature, they should not be treated as if they were a comprehensive classification of everything bearing on smoking. The numerical codes applied to the indexing terms were limited to four tiers. The first two tiers specify the part of the general classification into which the list fits, the third tier holds the title of the list and the last tier holds the number of the term in the list, which may be a two digit number. For example, the numerical code for "Tobacco" was 1.0.3.14. The facet of a term was indicated by a letter prefix to the numerical term according to the following convention:

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T = Theme
I = Assertion
A = Advocated Action
J = Justification
P = Policy
X = Persuasive Tactic

The following example illustrates the full indexing and coding process.

Take the statement:

Lowering tar and nicotine content will protect smokers from
the hazards of cigarettes.

1. "Lowering tar and nicotine content..." is an action which this statement advocates. Thus it fits under the "Advocated Action" facet. The subject of tar and nicotine content fits under the generic category for physical phenomena, whether purely natural or man made, of "1.0 Nature." Within this category the term list "Biomedical -- health" is coded "1.0.2." The second item in this list is the term "1.0.2.2 Lower tar and nicotine content." Thus the full code for the topic "Lowering tar and nicotine content..." is "A.1.0.2.2."

2. "...protect smokers..." is treated in this literature as a commonly accepted goal; it is the corollary to "protect nonsmokers," a central goal in this literature. Hence it is classified as a policy. In the U.S. literature, the object of this protection is the health of the smoker or nonsmoker. Thus these policies fit under the term list heading "1.2 Biomedical -- health." In this list, the proper term for the topic "protect smokers" is "1.2.3 Protect smokers' health."

3. "...hazards..." have been made explicit here, although the thought that cigarettes are hazardous is so widely accepted in this literature that the specific word "hazard" often is not used. Here "hazards" serve as a justification. Within the justification facet the term "hazardous" forms the end of the sequence

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"Biomedical -- health/ The broad justifications/ Hazardous." Its code is J.1.2.1.3.

4. "Cigarettes," as we have already noted, fits under the assertion facet and is coded I.1.0.3.6.

5. The general belief underlying this statement is that preventive steps should be taken to protect the health of individuals. Such general beliefs fit in the "Theme" facet. This one is coded as ^{7.2-1.1} "The individual/ Health -- prevention,"

6. The statement is an assertion made without proof. The persuasive tactic it employs is "Assertion." In the "Persuasive Tactic" facet, the tactics are merely listed as they were found; they do not fit the general classification scheme. Hence the code for this statement in this facet is "I.1
"Assertion,"

Let us now go through the specific steps used to produce our results.

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How this content analysis was carried out.--We began with a set of sequentially-numbered code sheets, six sets of colored file cards (one color for each facet) and a set of items to be coded. The process of transforming this uncoded material into tabulations of data took place in four phases, presented here as a set of instructions.

Phase I Find an initial set of indexing terms.

1. Select a group and take the first item.
2. Divide this item into expressive units, where each unit is defined as being about one topic. (Such units typically run from a sentence to a paragraph in length.)
3. Number the units sequentially.
4. In the center column of the first code sheet, enter the title of the item and then enter summaries of the units. These summaries should be broken down into short phrases or even single words if they are to be coded separately with one phrase per line to allow plenty of room for entering codes in the coding column.
5. For each phrase, devise a cryptic indexing term representing the content expressed by that phrase. (Several terms may be needed. For example, an assertion may also have persuasive force, in which case the content of the assertion and the persuasive tactic employed both would have to be indexed.) A phrase may be used only once for any given unit.
6. Determine the expressive focus of each phrase (whether it expresses a theme, policy, assertion, advocated action or justification) and its persuasive tactic if any and enter the appropriate letter facet code in the facet column on the same line as the line used for the index term.
7. Take a code index card whose color corresponds to each facet code and type the indexing term at the top of the card, leaving room at the top left for later insertion of the code. Enter the code sheet page number on the card.
8. When all the units for the item have been coded, review it and add any implicit themes not already identified. Put all the themes at the end of the

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code sheets for this item.

9. Continue this process on a small set of items representing one line of presentation. (In this study, a small set of items from ASH and GASP were used.)

10. Prepare the first set of faceted classification tables.

a. Sort the cards for each facet (except the persuasive tactic facet) into the overall subject categories.

b. Identify initial term list headings within these categories. (Here, for example, "1.0 Nature" was found to contain the heading topics "Environment," "Agents under attack," and "Biomedical -- health.")

c. Assign codes to the term list headings and to the terms within them. Enter these codes on the cards.

d. Prepare a classification table for each facet showing the overall subject categories, term list headings and terms with their codes. For the "Society" category, include the subcategories "Individual, Social institutions and groups, Economy and Polity." Subcategories for the "Nature" and "Culture" categories will be identified later.

e. Do not enter the codes on the code sheets already prepared as these will be recoded at the end of the coding process.

Phase II Expand the classification tables.

1. Code all the remaining items in the sample.

2. For each item, divide the text into units and number the units sequentially.

3. Enter summaries of the units on the code sheets.
each unit

4. Convert / summary or sections of its summary into indexing terms from the faceted classification tables prepared in Phase I.

a. When new terms are needed, add them, being careful to avoid overlapping usages.

b. To add a term, enter it on the appropriate classification table, assign a code and prepare a code index card for it.

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5. Enter the page number of the code sheet on the code index card.

a. Since several units typically are indexed on each page of the code sheets, any page may bear several entries for any indexing term. Thus the code index card for such a term will have the corresponding page number entered several times. This duplication of page numbers could be eliminated by numbering the units instead of the pages, but in a manual operation the page numbers are easier to use.

b. Passages in the text to which specific indexing terms have been applied can be identified by (1) using the classification tables to determine the code for that term, (2) using the card file to identify the code sheet page(s) on which that term has been used, (3) identifying the units to which that term has been applied on these pages and then (4) finding that unit in the item coded.

Phase III Make the coding uniform.

1. Once all the items have been coded, / ^{prepare} the faceted classification tables, leaving room for final adjustments.

a. So that the tables may be understood readily it may be necessary to add terms not applied to the text, but there should be few of these terms.

b. At this point the subcategories should be added if they have not already been identified.

2. In order to make the coding uniform, edit the code sheets against this latest set of classification tables.

a. At this point codes are applied to the early, uncoded items.

b. Some codes will have been expanded, deleted or moved within or between facets. Update these entries on the coding sheets and on the cards.

c. Some indexing will be incorrect or incomplete in light of later development of the classification schedules. Update them.

d. Enter significant cross-indexes on the classification tables as, for

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15. *da*
when a given term is used differently in more than one facet.

3. Check off each final code on the code sheets against its corresponding entry on the code index cards.

4. Once the code sheets have been edited, go through the code index cards looking for page number entries that have not been checked off. Trace these back to the code sheets. Generally these page number entries are left when a code is deleted or changed and the card has not been corrected. Correct the card ~~per~~ code sheet as required. There should be no unchecked entries on the cards.

5. Type up the classification tables in their final form.

Phase IV Compile the data.

At this point, the text has been converted into a series of codes, this series being the final set of entries on the coding sheets. We also have a set of six classification tables showing how the subjects and the ways in which these subjects were expressed (the facets) are logically related to each other. The classification tables also show the code for each term used to express each subject in each of the ways it was expressed. Finally, we have produced a "code index file" of cards sorted by facet and codes-within each facet. The cards contain entries showing where each indexing term was used to index the content of the text we have been analyzing. From these entries we can find out how many times each indexing term was used for the text as a whole and how many times each term was used to index the items sampled from each of the groups in the population of antismoking groups being studied.

In order to produce the tables which will enable us to test our hypotheses, it is now necessary to compile this raw data (the series of indexing terms, the classification tables and the entries in the code index file) into two intermediate ~~sets~~ of aggregated data. First, we want to enter the number of times each indexing term was used on the faceted classification tables. By adding up the number of term uses in the term lists, subcategories and categories, we can determine the extent of attention given to these higher order topics

by the groups being studied. Second, we need an intermediate data table which aggregates the term uses for each of the antismoking groups by subject and subject facet. These aggregate numbers will feed the final set of tables which will allow us to analyze the content of the documents we have sampled from the antismoking groups.

1. Prepare a large intermediate data table displaying the overall subject categories and their subdivisions on the vertical axis and the subject facets repeated for each group on the horizontal axis. Use the symbols T = Theme, I = Assertion, A = Advocated action, J = Justification and P = Policy. Figure 1 shows how this table is constructed.

Subjects	Groups	Am. Cancer Society					Am. Lung Ass'n.					etc. ...	Sums
	Facets	T	I	A	J	P	T	I	A	J	P	T...	
1.0 Nature													
1.1 Environment													
1.2 Health													
2.0 Society													
2.1 The individual													
2.2 Groups & social institutions													
•													
•													
•													
3.3 Dissuasion													
	Sums												

Figure 1

LAYOUT FOR INTERMEDIATE DATA TABLE

2. Taking the cards corresponding to each cell in this table, add up the page number entries on the cards (for each subject for each facet for each group) and enter the total in that cell.

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subject

3. Continuing with the intermediate data table, for each/facet of each group, add up the subdivision cell entries to determine the total entries for the overall subject headings — nature, society and culture. Then add these sums to determine the total number of entries within each facet for each group. (column totals)

4. Continuing with the intermediate data table, add the cell entries for each subdivision for each group. (row totals) Then add the subdivision row totals for each overall subject category and compare with the summed column totals for each overall subject category. The sums should agree.

5. Add the row totals for each overall subject category for each group and then sum the overall category totals.

6. Add the summed column totals for each group. This number, representing the total entries by facet, should agree with the previous sum of the total entries by subject. Correct the table until the sums agree, if necessary.

7. Taking up the faceted classification tables and the ~~word~~ index, card file, count the number of entries for each indexing term (and term headings when they have been used for indexing) and enter that number beside the corresponding term (or term heading) on the faceted classification tables.

8. Add up the number of entries for each term list heading and enter it ^{appropriate} in parentheses on the classification table.

9. Add up the number of entries in each subcategory of the overall categories for each of the subject facets and enter these sums in parentheses in the facet tables.

10. Taking up the intermediate data table, sum the cell entries for each subcategory for each facet over the set of groups.

11. For each facet, compare the number of term uses for each subcategory found by adding the entries by group from the intermediate data table with the sum obtained by adding the total number of entries by facet from the faceted classification tables. If the sums don't agree correct the entries until they do. If necessary, rebalance the intermediate data table.

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12. Add up the number of entries for each overall subject category within each facet in the faceted classification tables and enter these sums in parentheses. These sums should equal the corresponding sums in the intermediate data table. Correct them until they do.

13. Add up the number of entries for the overall subject categories within each subject facet to find the total number of term uses within each facet as recorded in the faceted classification tables. These sums should equal the corresponding sums in the intermediate data table. Correct them until they do.

At — this point, the intermediate data table and the faceted classification tables will be consistent. We are now ready to construct the analytical tables.

Phase V Display the aggregated data.

Presentation of the aggregated data was best accomplished by developing three sets of tables. The first set gives the gross numerical properties of the 42 items studied. The second set of tables presents the properties of the antismoking literature ———> when the groups which produced it are taken as a whole. Essentially, these tables present the properties of our universe. The third set of tables focuses on the properties of the literature produced by each of the antismoking groups, ———> Here we look at variations ———> which average out when the universe is studied as a whole.

Two steps were required to produce the gross numerical properties of the 42 items studied:

1. Taking up the code sheets, count the number of items and the number of units in each group. Enter this data in "Table 1, Quantity of U.S. Anti-smoking Group Communications in Sample." From the intermediate data table, enter the total number of term uses for each group. Compute and enter the "Units per item" and "Term uses per unit." Sum the first three columns.

2. The faceted classification tables, annotated to show term use and aggregate category, subcategory and term-list heading ^{frequencies} now become the

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second series of tables. Number them.

These first two tables have been placed at the end of this methodology chapter where they serve the function of providing numerical and conceptual dimensions to the contents of the documents studied.

The next set of tables, treated in the first part of the analysis chapter, allow us to consider the properties of the antismoking communications as a whole. Three aspects of the content of this material have been explored through these tables -- the antismoking groups concerns, expressions and tactics. "Concerns" ^{what was} means/bothering these groups. These concerns were indexed by subject, the subjects being organized into a four-tier classification system of which the first two tiers amount to an overall general classification system, the third tier consists of indexing term headings and the fourth tier consists of the indexing terms themselves,

← "Expressions" means how these groups dealt with these subjects. Did they make assertions about them, or advocate actions or state policies or justify any of these? Also, what themes underlay their communications? "Tactics" means the persuasive approach used in selling the ideas communicated in this literature. In this report, the tactics are treated separately, although it would be possible to group the tactics and find out if their use differed by group, concern or expression of concern.

Within the analysis of the universe of antismoking communications taken as a whole we have already drawn a distinction between the number of concepts used to express a subject of concern to the antismoking groups and the intensity with which these concepts were used. The next set of steps, then, examines the number of concepts used to express the concerns of these groups.

3. Construct "Table 3.3, How the Indexed Concepts Used by the U.S. Anti-smoking Groups as a Whole Expressed their Concerns" by displaying the overall subject categories and their subcategories on the vertical axis and the facets

through which these concerns were expressed on the horizontal axis. Fill in this table by counting the number of index terms and term headings for which there are use entries in the subject facet classification tables. Compute row and column totals and row percentages.

4. The row totals are the number of terms used to express each subject category and subcategory. Use these totals to make up "Table 3.1, How the Terms Indexing the Concepts used by the U.S. Antismoking Groups as a Whole fit into the Overall Subject Categories."

5. The column totals from Table 3.3, when converted to percentages, show the relative richness of vocabulary used by the antismoking groups to express their concerns about smoking. Enter these column totals and their percentages in "Table 3.2, How the Terms Indexing the Concepts used by the U.S. Antismoking Groups as a Whole fit into the Overall Expression Categories."

6. Similarly, construct three tables showing the intensity of the communications from the antismoking groups. Start with "Table 4.3, How Categorical Concerns of the U.S. Antismoking Groups as a Whole were Expressed." Like Table 3.3, this table shows concerns against ways of expressing these concerns. Take the term use data for this table from the intermediate data table.

7. From the row totals of Table 4.3 and the row totals of Table 3.3, construct "Table 4.1, What Concerned the U.S. Antismoking Groups as a Whole." In addition to the percentage of all term uses, compute the average use per term.

8. From the column totals of Table 4.3 and the column totals of Table 3.3, construct "Table 4.2, How the U.S. Antismoking Groups as a Whole Expressed their Overall Concerns." Again compute term use percentages and average uses per term.

9. The next set of tables shows which topics were of greatest concern to the U.S. antismoking groups as a whole. These tables are organized into

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three sets of columns, each set being divided into three columns, the first for overall subject categories, the second for subcategories and the third for term list titles. For each facet the first set of columns shows which terms or term list titles were used most frequently to index the documents studied. (The purpose including the categories and subcategories in these tables is to keep the terms and term lists organized in the same manner as the other tables in this report.) The second set of columns, containing term use frequencies, displays data drawn from the faceted classification tables. The third set of columns shows percentages.

These tables are designed to elaborate the gross term use by category and subcategory counts presented in Table 4.1. To determine which term list headings and terms to put in the tables, go to the subject facet tables and find the terms with the highest use frequencies.

10. Now go to the persuasive tactic facet list. Identify the most frequently employed persuasive tactics and enter these in "Table 6, The More Frequently Used Persuasive Tactics," in the order in which they appear in the list of tactics. Compute percentage of all uses for the last column in this table.

Table 6 completes the presentation of results for the population of antismoking groups as a whole. The last two tables show which subjects were of greater or less interest to each of the antismoking groups and the extent to which the matters which concerned each group were seen to be matters about which assertions were to be made, actions were to be advocated, policies were to be promulgated and justifications for any of these actions were required. Additionally, the frequencies with which underlying themes were implied also are reported.

11. Taking up the intermediate data table, fill in "Table 7.1, Concerns of the U.S. Antismoking Groups," showing term use frequencies by subcategory for each of the groups studied. Compute row percentages.

12. Continuing with the intermediate data table, fill in "Table 7.2,

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How Each U.S. Antismoking Group Expressed its Concerns," with the total term use frequencies for each of the subject facets by each group. Again, compute row percentages.

This completes the presentation of the data. Now let us see what all these steps produced.

Quantity of communications.-- Table 1 shows that we have analyzed 42 items containing a total of 383 units of expression which were indexed by 1017 term uses. This sample of documents includes Congressional testimony from the American Heart Association which did not break down into items. The unit per item ratio is an artifact of the packaging of this information; the term uses per unit ratio is more significant in that it shows a distinct difference in intensity of communication between the voluntary medical organizations and the activist groups. The AHA material was most concentrated because it was an organization's position paper rich in content. Further, the communications of the other voluntary medical organizations is much more focused than that of the activist groups. Finally, the result that both ASH and GACP have the same term per unit ratio suggests that their communications have a lot in common. The results shown in this table make sense in terms of what we know about these groups; they suggest that our sampling and indexing is valid.

in the appendix to this chapter
Tables 2.1 through 2.6 present the faceted classification. There is a clear difference between the first five of these tables and the last one. The first five tables show which subjects were treated by each way of expressing concern. We have found it least cumbersome to speak of these tables as the "subject facets." The last facet, the persuasive tactic facet, deals with how these communications sought to persuade the reader. It does not lend itself to classification by subject, but its terms can be grouped. The analysis of this table contains a preliminary grouping.

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The six-fold faceted classification presented here includes terms in addition to those used to index the content of the U.S. documents. These terms had two sources. The majority of them came from a preliminary analysis of the World Health Organization's report on the "smoking epidemic." A few other terms were added to clarify the logical structure of the classifications. Such terms were added parsimoniously in order to keep the final set of tables as close as possible to the actual content of the U.S. material. . The terms used to index the U.S. documents, then, can readily be identified; they are the terms with numbers after them not enclosed in parentheses. (In their present form, the tables do not specifically identify which additional terms or which terms were used in the preliminary indexing of the WHO document. Further work would produce the appropriate annotations.)

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APPENDIX II

DATA ON ANTI-SMOKING GROUPS

THEME FACET (119)

General Subject Classification	Theme Subcategories
-----------------------------------	------------------------

1.0 Nature (15)

- 1.0.1 Environment , 6
- 1.0.2 Biomedical -- health, 9

2.0 Society (77)

2.1 The individual (27)

- 2.1.1 Health -- prevention , 13
- 2.1.2 Environment -- protection from pollutants, 13
- 2.1.3 Consumer protection, 1

2.2 Social groups and institutions (5)

- 2.2.1 Health care system , 2
- 2.2.2 Educational system, 2
- 2.2.3 Poverty -- alleviation
- 2.2.4 Third World -- social problems, 1
- 2.2.5 Population -- implications of growth

2.3 Economic institutions (7)

- 2.3.1 Farm production policy , 1
- 2.3.2 Industry, 2
 - .1 Impacts on society, 4
 - .2 Global corporation impacts
- 2.3.3 Economic policy
 - .1 For industrial societies
 - .2 -- and growth
 - .3 Priorities

2.4 Political institutions(38)

- 2.4.1 Human rights, 7
- 2.4.2 Power base, 1
- 2.4.3 Regulation, 8
- 2.4.4 Restriction , 10
- 2.4.5 Prohibition, 7
- 2.4.6 Taxation, 4
- 2.4.7 Opposition to crime, 1

3.0 Culture (27)

3.1 Public education (10)

- 3.1.4 Research, 4
- 3.1.5.2 Information dissemination, 6

3.2 Persuasion (4)

- 3.2.5.1 Advertising, 4

3.3 Dissuasion (13)

- 3.3.1 Science utilization.
 - .1 Health, 4
 - .2 Anti-nuclear
- 3.3.2 Value symbolization, 1

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ASSERTION FACET (378)

General Subject Classification	Issue Subcategories
-----------------------------------	------------------------

1.0 Nature (168)

1.0.2 Biomedical -- health, 2 (67)

- | | |
|----------------------------------------------|--------------------|
| .1 Lungs, 16 | .19 Genetic change |
| .2 Heart, 12 | .20 Malnutrition |
| .3 Cancer, 5 | |
| .4 "Excess" (premature) deaths, 1 | |
| .5 Mortality, 10 | |
| .6 Morbidity, 5 | |
| .7 Synergistic (biomedical effects), 2 | |
| .8 Synergistic (environmentally-related) | |
| .9 Pregnancy, 2 | |
| .10 Weight, 1 | |
| .11 Persistence of substances in the body, 1 | |
| .12 Sensitivity to tobacco smoke, 2 | |
| .13 Birth control pill, 3 | |
| .14 Menopause, 4 | |
| .15 Addiction, 1 | |
| .16 Loss of productive capacity. | |
| .17 Cessation effects | |
| .18 Incubation period | |

1.0.3 Agents under attack (90)

- .1 Smoke -- main stream, 6
- .2 Smoke -- side stream, 4
- .3 Smoke -- second-hand, 2
- .4 Nicotine, 11
- .5 Tar, 10
- .6 Cigarette, 38
- .7 Pipe and cigar, 1
- .8 Smoke -- composition (general), 6
- .9 CO (Carbon monoxide), 5
- .10 Cd (Cadmium), 1
- .11 Enzymes, 1
- .12 Small cigars, 1
- .13 Tobacco products, 1
- .14 Tobacco, 3
- .15 Tobacco substitutes

1.1.1 Environment -- smoke in (9)

- .1 Enclosed public places, 3
- .2 Government buildings, 1
- .3 Transportation (vehicles and facilities)
- .4 The workplace, 3
- .5 Recreational places, 2

1.1.2 Environment -- impacts on (2)

- .1 Pollution, 2
- .2 Ecological
- .3 Desertification

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ASSERTION FACET (CONT.)

2.0 Society (143)

2.1 The individual (91)

2.1.1 Smokers, 9 (55)

- .1 Children, 4
- .2 Teens, 9
- .3 Girls, 6
- .4 Boys, 2
- .5 Adults (includes parents), 6
- .6 Women (includes mothers), 15
- .7 Men (includes fathers), 2
- .8 Gross number, 2
- .9 Impaired

2.1.2 Smoking patterns, 2 (30)

- .1 What is smoked, 5
- .2 How it is smoked (inhalation), 2
- .3 Consumption (how much is smoked), 17
- .4 Demography, 4

2.1.3 Nonsmokers, 1 (5)

- .1 Children, 4
- .2 Adults
- .3 Gross number
- .4 Impaired

2.1.4 Exsmokers (1)

- .1 Number, 1
- .2 Impaired

2.2 Social groups and institutions (12)

2.2.1 Societal costs -- social, 1 (3)

- .1 Impact on nonsmokers, 2
(Use J 2.2.9 subdivisions)

2.2.2 Social change, 2 (9)

- .1 Smoking-- attitudes and behavior toward, 6
- .2 Spitting, 1

2.3 Economic institutions (17)

2.3.1 Sales promotion practices, 1 (3)

- .1 Premiums, 1
- .2 Advertising, 1

2.3.2 Employment -- relevance of smoking, 1 (1)

- .1 Absenteeism
- .2 Industrial accidents
- .3 Disability
- .4 Early retirement

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ASSERTION FACET (CONT.)

2.3.3 Distribution (2)

- .1 Vending machines, 1
- .2 To other countries, 1
- .3 Packaging (# / sale)

2.3.5 Tobacco industry, 8 (10)

- .1 Global corporations, 1
- .2 Regulation
- .3 Contribution to GNP
- .4 Profits
- .5 Labor policy
- .6 Processing
- .7 Farm policy, 1
- .8 Economic displacement
- .9 Balance of payments
- .10 Ownership

2.3.9 Societal costs -- economic, 1 (1)

(Subdivide by entering with 2.3.9 from
Justification Facet.)

2.4 Political institutions (23)

2.4.1 Rights (12)

- *.1 Protect nonsmokers*** Go to P 2.4.7.1.
- .2 Individual freedom of choice, 4
- .3 Invasion of privacy, 1
- .4 -- of smokers, 2
- .5 -- of nonsmokers, 4
- .6 -- to work, 1

2.4.2 Law(3)

- .1 Legislation through the courts, 1
- .2 Prohibition vs. Restriction, 2
- *.3 Effectiveness*** Go to J 3.3.10.5.
- .4 Liability

2.4.3 Scope (of any given anti-smoking measure), 5 (5)

2.4.4 Taxation (3)

- .1 Bootlegging, 3
- .2 Uniform federal
- .3 -- as compensation for social and economic costs
- .4 Alternatives
- .5 Political feasibility
- .6 Consumption elasticity

2.4.5 Governmental units (0)

- .1 Nations (in general)
- .2 Developing countries
- .3 Developed countries

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ASSERTION FACET (CONT.)

3.0 Culture (67)

3.1 Public education (17)

3.1.8 Adoption "data", 8

3.1.9 Quitting "data", 9

3.2 Persuasion (25)

3.2.1 Advertising content (12)

- .1 Attractive, 4
- .2 T&N -- amount, 4
- .3 T&N -- safe levels, 2
- .4 Marlboro man, 2

3.2.2 Advertising -- use of media, 5 (13)

- .1 Billboard, 1
- .2 Control -- a fact?, 2
- .3 Control -- economics of, 3
- .4 Campaign costs
- .5 Indirect (through sponsorship of events), 2

3.3 Dissuasion (25)

3.3.3 Aesthetics, 1

3.3.4 Anger, frustration and annoyance, 3

3.3.5 Status symbolization, 4

3.3.6 Morality of smoking, 1

3.3.7 Risk, 5

...

3.3.11 Certainty (of connection between smoking and health), 5

3.3.12 Motivation (6)

- .1 Adoption, 2
- .2 Continuation, 1
- .3 Quitting, 3
- .4 Informed choice of brands

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ADVOCATED ACTION FACET (290)

General Subject
ClassificationAdvocated Action
Subcategories

1.0 Nature (41)

1.0.1 The environment (Restrict smoking in...)(37)

- .1 Enclosed public places, 12
- .2 Government buildings, 2
- .3 Elevators, 4
- .4 Restaurants, 2
- .5 Transportation -- vehicles, 5
- .6 Transportation -- facilities
- .7 Work place, 3
- .8 Medical facilities, 2
- .9 Schools, 1
- .10 Theaters, 4
- .11 Designated areas, 2

1.0.2 Biomedical -- health (4)

- .1 Limit tar and nicotine content, 2
- .2 Lower tar and nicotine content, 2
- .3 Stop growing tobacco

2.0 Society (188)

2.1 The individual (37)

2.1.1 Mobilize (12)

- .1 Anti-smoking group members, 5
- .2 Public support, 2
- .3 Raise funds, 1
- .4 Letter writing campaign, 2
- .5 Health professionals, 2

2.1.2 Restrict smoking by --Exemplars (9)

- .1 Health care workers, 5
- .2 Officials of health organizations, 1
- .3 Pilots and other airline personnel
- .4 Teachers, 1
- .5 Anti-smoking activists, 1
- .6 TV actors, 1

2.1.3 Quit (12)

- .1 Urge, 8
- .2 Assist, 4

2.1.4 Fine, 2

2.1.5 Stronger legal sanctions

2.1.6 Arrest, 1

2.1.7 Raise direct costs, 1

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ADVOCATED ACTION FACET (CONT.)

2.2 Social institutions (42)

- 2.2.1 Organize anti-smoking group, 1
- 2.2.2 Organize joint anti-smoking group effort , 7
- 2.2.3 Restrict -- public gatherings, 2
- 2.2.4 Segregate
 - .1 Smokers
 - .2 Nonsmokers, 1
- 2.2.5 Organize meetings, 4
- 2.2.6 Develop lore, 3
- 2.2.7 Implement anti-smoking program, 9
- 2.2.8 Set goals, 8
- 2.2.9 Organizations
 - .1 Schools, 3
 - .2 Health, 2
 - .3 Social, 1
 - .4 Religious
- 2.2.10 Develop strategy, 1

2.3 Economic institutions (17)

- 2.3.1 Restrict sales practices, 1
- 2.3.2 Market -- to nonsmokers only, 1
- 2.3.4 Insurance -- rate smokers
 - .1 Fire, 1
 - .2 Health, 1
 - .3 Life, 1
- 2.3.5 Media as business organizations, 1
 - .1 Cigarette advertising, 2
 - .2 Fairness doctrine (equal time), 2
- 2.3.6 Self-regulation, 3
- 2.3.7 Implement internal anti-smoking program, 3
- 2.3.8 Business organizations, 1
- 2.3.9 Substitute crops

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2.4 Political institutions (92)

2.4.1 Legislative processes , 2 (41)

- .1 Petition , 3
- .2 Referendum.
- .3 File bill, 4
- .4 Hearings, 1
- .5 Lobby, 8
- .6 Debate bill
- .7 Amend bill, 2
- .8 Pass law, 18
- .9 Model law, 3

2.4.2 Legal processes (7)

- .1 File suit, 5
- .2 Rule, 1
- .3 Appeal decision, 1

2.4.3 Administrative processes, 1 (9)

- .1 Petition regulators, 2
- .2 Develop regulations, 4
- .3 Table, 1
- .4 Hold hearings, 1

2.4.4 Implementation, 1 (18)

- .1 Enforce law or regulation, 5
- .2 Organize, 1
- .3 HEW anti-smoking campaign, 5
- .4 Funding (includes "subsidize"), 2
- .5 Voluntary action, 4
- .6 Disseminate information
- .7 Monitor impacts
- .8 Develop international programs
- .9 Develop data systems

2.4.5 Tax , 1 (7)

- .1 Excise--State, 1
- .2 Graduated by tar and nicotine content, 4
- .3 Uniform federal with state payments
- .4 Deductions, 1
- .5 Tariffs

2.4.6 Standardization -- tar and nicotine measures , 1 (1)

2.4.8 Governmental units (9)

- .1 National governments, 9
- .2 International

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ADVOCATED ACTION FACET (CONT.)

3.0 Culture (61)

3.1 Public education (23)

3.1.2 Programs, 2 (9)

- .1 Operate public education program, 2
- .2 Direct to smokers, 1
- .3 " " families
- .4 " " exemplars (role models)
- .5 " " opinion leaders
- .6 " " workers
- .7 Develop and exchange curricula
- .8 Operate public information program, 5

3.1.3 Research (14)

- .1 Quitting program effectiveness, 3
- .2 Smoking and health, 5
- .3 Content and risk, 2
- .4 Decrease hazards, 1
- .5 Addiction, 1
- .6 Motivations, 1
- .7 Effects on nonsmokers, 1
- .8 Socioeconomic costs
- .9 Evaluative

3.1.5 Information storage and retrieval (0)

- .1 Bank
- .2 Disseminate

3.2 Persuasion (9)

3.2.1 Through the media

- .6 Restrict advertising format, 2
- .7 Restrict advertising content, 5
- *.13 Restrict media use*** Go to P 3.2.1.2
- .14 Prohibit promotional expenditures, 1
- .15 Prohibit use of the mails, 1

3.3 Dissuasion (29)

3.3.1 Communication

- .1 Advertising -- antismoking, 3
- .2 Equal counter-message, 2
- .3 Health warning, 7
- .4 Product description, 2
- .5 Sharpen perception, 6
- ...
- .9 Direct interaction, 2
- .10 Assert nonsmokers' rights, 2
- .11 Offer counter-information, 2
- .12 No smoking day, 1
- ...
- .16 Publicize (Refers to lone places or events.)

3.3.4 Rituals (2)

- .1 Honorary meal, 1
- .2 Award recognition, 1

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General Subject Classification	Justification Subcategories
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1.0 Nature (69)

1.1 The environment (6)

1.1.1 Agents impacting (2)

- .1 Fire, 1
- .2 Smoke (general tobacco smoke), 1
- .3 Smoke components
- .
- .

1.1.3 Places (where there can be an impact) (2)

- .1 Enclosed public places
- .2 Transportation vehicles
- .3 Medical facilities
- .4 Educational facilities
- .5 Workplaces, 2
- .
- .

.8 Private

.9 Goal***Go to Policy Facet for goal specification.

1.1.5 Damage (2)

- .1 To furnishings, 1
- .2 To appearance, 1

1.2 Biomedical--health (63)

1.2.1 The broad justifications (26)

- .1 Epidemic/pandemic
- .2 Prevention, 1
- .3 Hazardous, 21
- .4 Public health, 4

1.2.2 Impacts on health, 2 (25)

- .1 Morbidity, 2
- .2 Mortality, 8
- .3 Addiction, 2
- .4 Disease, 10
- .5 Recovery, 1

1.2.3 Higher order effects (0)

- .1 Synergy -- environmental (with other hazardous substances in the environment)
- .2 Synergy -- physiological (with other diseases in the body)

1.2.4 Justified by research results -- the broad universe of them, 6 (11)

- .1 Surgeon General's Report(s), 6
- ...

2.0 Society (37)

2.1 The individual (7)

2.1.1 Smokers (3)

- .1 Suicidal, 1
- .2 Voluntary compliance ineffective, 2
- .3 Impact on nonsmokers

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JUSTIFICATION FACET (CONT.)

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2.1.2 About quitting, 1 (4)

.1 Precedent in #, 1

.2 Feasible, 2

.
.
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.
.

2.2 Social groups and
institutions (8)

2.2.1 High risk groups (3)

.1 Allergic to tobacco smoke, 1

.2 Diseased individuals, 1

.3 Hazardous occupations

.4 Pregnant women, 1

*2.2.3. Exemplars*** Go to A 2.1.2.6.

2.2.9 Social costs, 1 (5)

.1 To nonsmokers -- impact on, 4
(See also I 2.2.1.1.)

.2 Impairment

.4 To families

.5 Welfare dependance

.6 From fires

.7 Medical resources consumed

.8 Medical treatment deferred

.* See also: Factors concerning management and workers.

.* See also: Tobacco industry impacts.

2.3 Economic
institutions (11)

2.3.1 Management -- Issues concerning

.1 Absenteeism, 2

.2 Accident rate, 1

.3 Fringe benefit costs, 1

.4 Damage, 1

.5 Sensitive equipment, 1

.6 Organizational front, 1

.7 Worker harmony, 1

.8 Worker morbidity, 1

.9 Worker productivity, 1

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JUSTIFICATION FACET (CONT.)

12.

2.3.3 Workers -- Factors concerning , 1

- .1 Disability
- .2 Income reduction
- .3 Early retirement

2.3.5 Tobacco industry impacts

- .1 Global corporation practices
- .2 Profitability to host country
- .3 Food production diverted
- .4 Fuel consumption
- .5 Desertification

2.3.6 Tobacco industry -- impact amelioration

- .1 Substitute alternative crops
- .2 Reduce size
- .3 Control product content
- .4 Require product description
- .5 Require health warning
- .6 Control promotion
- .7 Control advertising design
- .8 Restrict media use
- .9 Control vendors
- .10 Restrict purchasers
- .11 Control exports

2.3.9 Economic costs (to society)

- .1 Lost productivity
- .2 Sick pay
- .3 Loss of family purchasing power
- .4 From work irregularity
- .5 From early retirement
- .6 Reduced pensions
- .7 Insurance
- .8 Extra medical care
- .9 Extra medical facilities
- .10 From premature deaths
- .11 From fires
- .12 For insurance
- .13 Resource diversion
- .14 Transfer payments in taxes
- .15 For extra ventilation
- .16 For sanitation

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13. 24.
JUSTIFICATION FACET (CONT.)

- .17 Of research
- .18 Of public education programs
- .19 Of public information programs

2.4 Political institutions (11)

2.4.1 Laws invoked (5)

- .1 Assault, 1
- .2 Bill of rights, 1
- .3 Common, 1
- .4 OSHA, 1
- .5 Public nuisance, 1

2.4.2 Rights invoked (2)

- .1 Freedom of choice
- .2 Majority rule (Nonsmokers in the majority), 2
- .
- .

2.4.3 Related to government's operation(3)

- .1 Cost of tax evasion, 1
- .2 Loss of tobacco revenues, 2
- .3 Tax as control
- .4 Public health regulation of smoking
- .5 Organization
- .6 Implementation

2.4.4 To achieve the goals of antismoking laws , 1 (1)
(Go to policy facet for these goals.)

3.0 Culture (23)

3.1 Public education (0)

3.1.1 Communication programs

- .1 Information
- .2 Education

3.2 Persuasion (0)

3.2.2 Communication design

- .1 Sender
- .2 Message
- .3 Media

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JUSTIFICATION FACET (CONT.)

3.3 Dissuasion (23)

3.3.3 Communication receivers

- .1 The public
- .2 Demographic groups
- .3 Organizations
- .4 Decision-makers

...

3.3.7 Risk (5)

- *.1 Reduction*** Go to P 3.3.5.1.
- .2 Perception -- sharpen
- .3 Awareness , 1
- .4 Information , 4
- .5 Attitudes toward
- .6 Behavior toward

3.3.8 Beneficial , 1 (1)

3.3.9 Nonsmoking norm

3.3.10 Effectiveness of antismoking programs , 3 (17)

- .1 Rationalization of strategy
- .2 Monitor
- .3 Evaluate
- .4 Measurement
- .5 Of laws , 4
- .6 Of education/information programs, 10

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POLICY FACET (98)

General Subject Classification	Policy Subcategories
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1.0 Nature (11)

1.1 The environment (7)

1.1.1 Public places

- .1 Eliminate smoking, 1
- .2 Restrict by place, 5
- .3 Segregate within places, 1

1.1.2 Institutional places

- .1 Restrict by institution
- .2 Convert exemplars

1.1.3 Private places

- .1 Control hazardous substances

1.2 Biomedical -- health (4)

1.2.1 Protect nonsmokers' health , 3

1.2.2 Protect exsmokers' health

1.2.3 Protect smokers' health, 1

2.0 Society (48)

2.1 The individual (14)

2.1.1. Reduce smoking, 6

2.1.2 Eliminate smoking, 2

2.1.3 Prevent sdoption, 2

2.1.4 Convert smoking proponents, 1

2.1.5 Involve exemplars, 2

2.1.6 Discourage smokers, 1

2.2 Social institutions and groups (1)

2.2.1 Adopt antismoking policy, 1

2.2.2 Oppose on moral grounds

2.2.3 Price out poor

2.3 Economic institutions (13)

2.3.1 Tobacco industry

.1 Substitute alternative crops , 1

.2 Reduce industry size

.3 Prevent development, 1

.4 End subsidization , 3

2.3.2 Tobacco products

.1 Control content , 3

.2 Require product description , 1

.3 Require health warning, 1

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POLICY FACET (CONT.)

- 2.3.3 Tobacco product promotion
 - .1 Restrict promotion , 2
 - .2 Prohibit promotional expenditures
- 2.3.4 Tobacco product sales
 - .1 Control vendors
 - .2 Restrict purchasers
- 2.3.5 Tobacco product exports
 - .1 Discourage , 1
 - .2 Prohibit promotion
 - .3 Normalize products
 - .4 Regulate health warning
- 2.3.7 Hazardous industries
 - .1 Monitor hazards
 - .2 Prohibit smoking

2.4 Political institutions (20)

- 2.4.1 Nations
 - .1 Develop control policy , 5
 - .2 Integrate with tax policy
 - .3 Escalate phases , 3
 - .4 Monitor, 1
 - .5 Evaluate and adjust
 - .6 Cooperate, 1
- 2.4.2 International organizations
 - .1 Assist national cooperation
 - .2 Coordinate U.N. agencies
 - .3 Develop world data standards
- 2.4.3 State restrictions , 3
- 2.4.4 Local restrictions
- 2.4.7 Policies
 - .1 Protect nonsmokers' rights , 5
 - .2 Restrict smoking , 1
 - .3 Prohibit smoking , 1

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POLICY FACET (CONT.)

3.0 Culture (39)

3.1 Public education (11)

- 3.1.1 Education programs
 - .1 Mount educational program, 6
 - .2 ...
- 3.1.2 Information programs
 - .1 Mount information programs, 4
 - .2 ...
- 3.1.3 Research policy
 - .1 Support further research, 1
 - .2 ...

3.2 Persuasion (13)

- 3.2.1 Communication policy
 - .1 Regulate advertising, 2
 - .2 Restrict media use, 6
 - .3 Prohibit media use, 5
 - .4 ...

3.3 Dissuasion (15)

- ...
- 3.3.3 Norms and values
 - .1 Influence the public's attitudes, 5
 - .2 Adopt nonsmoking norm, 2
 - .3 Group good takes precedence over individual good.
- 3.3.4 Conclusions based on research results
 - .1 Causality adequately demonstrated, 3
 - .2 Absolute risk proven
- 3.3.5 Risk
 - .1 Reduce, 3
 - .2 Eliminate
 - .3 Privatize residual (*i.e.*, let smokers bear the risk of smoking. once smoking has been eliminated from the public sector.), 2

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PERSUASIVE TACTIC FACET (231)

<u>#</u>	<u>Tactic</u>	<u>Explanation</u>
1.	Assertion , 8	Strong statement instead of proof.
2.	Appeal to common sense , 8	The argument is so obvious that it does not need proof.
3.	Halo effect , 3	The communicator's credibility is established by showing he has prestigious connections.
4.	Present evidence., 17	Gives data from specified scientific studies.
5.	Fear appeal, 10	Raises fear of the consequences of not accepting the argument.
6.	Influential, 3	Communicator claims credibility based on his direct access to those in power and his ability to influence their beliefs and actions.
7.	Present information, 27	States the facts but not the source. (See # P. 22, "Offers solution.")
8.	Involve the target in reinforcing action., 4	Utilizes cognitive dissonance.
9.	Secular religion, 1	Appeals to tenants of the "protestant ethic."
10.	Prestigious source, 13	Connects point to a prestigious organization, such as an organization which has funded or performed cited research. (See also # P. 28, "Authoritative source" and # P. 34, "Prestigious position.")
11.	Uniting value, 13	In this study, the predominant uniting value is opposition to smoking. The uniting value is the central value which holds a group together.
12.	Argument from authority, 4	Communicator should be believed because he has gained recognition from the social circle of experts on a given subject for his vast knowledge of that subject as demonstrated by his extensive contributions to the field.
13.	Argument from expertise, 1	Communicator demonstrates an extensive knowledge of the subject. Recognition from colleagues makes an expert an authority. Experts and authorities may or may not be influential.
14.	Charismatic effect, 6	Communicator has proven himself a great leader, acts like a great leader and thus should be believed.

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PERSUASIVE TACTIC FACET (CONT.)

<u>#</u>	<u>Tactic</u>	<u>Explanation</u>
15.	Identification with group, 7	Appeal to comradeship, the joy of belonging to a group. Since the target belongs to the group and thus accepts its beliefs and values, the argument is that new information ought to be accepted because it comes from the group.
16.	Conflict at boundary, 10	Conflict to defend the group reinforces ties within the group and thus acceptance of in-group information. The latitude of acceptable behavior, including the acceptance of information, varies with the amount of conflict at the boundary.
17.	Endorsement, 13	Applies either to an organization or to a prestigious individual. Endorsement bolsters acceptance of a product or concept by tapping the target's trust in the endorser.
18.	Financial incentive, 3	The target profits in cash by following the advocated action. (See also # P 27, "Promises benefits.")
19.	Lends (or offers to lend) support, 3	The persuader demonstrates his conviction in the advocated action or belief by offering to or actually assisting the target in the process of adopting what is advocated.
20.	Raises doubts, 5	The persuader seeks to convince the target that there is a problem with which the target must deal by accepting new information. The problem may be the target's failure to apprehend the truth. This tactic is followed by tactics packaging the persuasive message.
21.	States the problem, 20	The persuader, having raised doubts about the target's prior perceptions, proceeds to reorient his perception by providing a clear, concise statement of the problem.
22.	Offers solution, 6	This is the answer which the persuader advocates to the problem he has stated. Alternately, it is the answer to an implied problem. (The solution may be information, in which case, do not use # P. 7, "Presents information," which is intended for discursive, background information.)
23.	Discredit the opposition, 3	Prove the opposition lies. Such proof may include demonstration that the opposition uses various deceptive practices to make its lies believable and attractive.

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PERSUASIVE TACTIC FACET (CONT.)

<u>#</u>	<u>Tactic</u>	<u>Explanation</u>
24.	Mobilize perspicacity. , 1	The target is urged to make the effort to see the truth of the persuader's claims or the falsity of the opposition's arguments.
25.	Mobilize willpower. , 6	Target is urged to want whatever the persuader is advocating.
26.	States THE TRUTH. , 6	THE TRUTH is the persuader's solution to doubts raised about the targets beliefs or values which were sharpened by stating the problem.
27.	Promises benefits. , 1	The benefits promised will accrue to the good of the target. (This category complements cash benefits promised in # P. 18, "Financial incentive" and the elation of success promised in # P. 36, "Asserts future success.")
28.	Authoritative source , 7	This is the individual analogue of # P. 10, "Prestigious source." It is used in quoting prominent individual authorities. It differs from # P. 12, "Argument from authority" in that it is used to quote another rather than in establishing one's own credibility.
29.	New and fresh , 1	This tactic taps the belief that newness is goodness. In fashion, this argument is used to overcome a cultivated boredom. It also implies that whatever the shortcomings of the old approach were, they will be solved by the new approach. The grass is greener, etc.
30.	Bandwagon effect , 5	This tactic emphasizes the growing momentum of acceptance of the concept or product advocated. Rapid, massive increases in agreement or adoption must mean that the idea or product advocated is "right."
31.	Success succeeds. , 6	This is the idea that success leads to more success. If the persuader has been successful to this point, then the thinking on which that success has been based must be right.
32.	Initial success. , 1	Since the failure rate for new ideas or products is high, if what is advocated has found initial success there is a good chance that there is something unusually correct about it.

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PERSUASIVE TACTIC FACET (CONT.)

<u>#</u>	<u>Tactic</u>	<u>Explanation</u>
33.	Diffusion, 2	This tactic involves spreading an idea to a large category or group of people by harnessing two-step flow. The persuader seeks out and persuades the opinion leaders influential on the issues or adoption he is addressing. He relies on the opinion leaders to influence the larger population of targets.
34.	Prestigious position, 3	The persuader occupies a responsible position in a prestigious organization. This tactic is the administrator's equivalent to the scientist's argument from authority (# P. 12), but it may be used by any persuader.
35.	Claims to know THE TRUTH., 1	Explicit claim to knowledge of THE TRUTH as distinct from stating THE TRUTH (# P. 26), demonstrating it (# P. 4), asserting it (# P. 1), or giving some set of results without proof (# P. 7).
36.	Asserts future success., 3	For example, the persuader states that ... "We can (or will) succeed." Such a statement implies a uniting value (# P. 11), a charismatic effect if only from the emotion of the moment (# P. 14) and taps an intense identification with the group (# P. 15).
37.	Responsibility to others	The persuader attempts to tap the target's sense of duty to others in some way dependent on him such as his family members. (This is the insurance salesman's basic ploy.)

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APPENDIX III
A DETAILED DESCRIPTION OF THE CONTENT
OF THE CONTENT ANALYSIS OF U.S. ANTI-SMOKING GROUPS

Introduction

"Behavior," "behavioral," "behaviorism"--such terms characterize the social sciences to the uninitiated. Many social scientists would object to the use of these terms in popular discourse, if they thought of it at all, on the ground that the comprehensive way these terms are used masks an essential distinction. The distinction is that between behavior and action.

Here's the difference between these terms. "Behavior" refers to some kind of observable motion by some kind of living organism. "Action," on the other hand, refers to meaningful behavior. Some branches of science, such as behavioral psychology, deal entirely with how organisms move; where whole beings such as rats are involved, they avoid —————> questions of meaning. Social scientists, such as sociologists studying interaction in groups, on the other hand, seek to understand what the behavior they observe means to those they are observing. What these two approaches have in common is that they both measure behavior.

Content analysis as it has been used to produce the results in this study is a behavioral method. Since the behaviorist has no theories about meaning to guide him, he

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tries to measure everything in sight. Lots of data results. The behaviorist hopes that by tabulating and manipulating this data he will find unexpected patterns which give an abstract version of what is happening even though he has no hope of ever knowing what these patterns mean to those he observes. In this work every possible aspect of the content of the communications studies has been indexed. Not all possible aggregations of the data have been tabulated, but the reader will still find an abundance of tables.

This chapter, then, produces behavioral patterns. For example, Table 5.1 tells what is bothering the anti-smoking groups in the U.S. Table 7.2 shows that some of these groups are concerned with making statements about smoking while others are busy advocating political action to suppress it. Ah, yes, but why? The data even in its most elegant aggregations does not tell why. "Why" is the function of theory.

Of course it is impossible to read as much of the anti-smoking literature as the method of the last chapter requires without finding out about the meanings these groups appear to attribute to their behaviors. Thus it has been possible to explain the patterns of action which these tables reflect at least at the surface level. However, such explanations should not be confused with the deeper understanding that comes from theoretical analysis.

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What We Found Out About The U.S. Groups

The bulk of the U.S. literature (37.3 percent of index term uses) contains assertions about smoking. Actions that can be taken to reduce and ultimately eliminate smoking are next in frequency of expression (28.6 percent). Both the assertions and the actions advocated are largely treated without justification; the belief that scientific results, such as those reported in the two Surgeon General's report on smoking and health in January, 1964, the voluntary medical organizations ("VMO's") which have taken a position against smoking and the activist organizations which emerged after the report was published all have been in business for over a decade.

The cause is well established, and its champions have had enough victories to sustain their zeal. Cigarette advertising has been banned on the electronic media for nearly a decade and a host of federal regulations and local ordinances restrict smoking —————→ in public transportation vehicles and in public buildings. The anti-smoking policies these groups advocate, then, are well established. They merit little discussion, as far as these people are concerned. Indeed, only 9.7 percent of the statements coded involved —————→ policy considerations, about a tenth of the attention given to the actions needed to implement these policies.

The term "theme" in our content analysis has been used to refer to broad, underlying beliefs, concerns and values.

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We found no explicit reference to themes in the U.S. literature. Themes were implicit. Evidently these groups share common underlying concerns--prevention to safeguard individual health, a clean environment, reduction of risk, and political action to translate these concerns into law.

Since these groups have been formed to achieve the goal of suppressing the smoking of tobacco (or since, in the case of the voluntary medical organizations, they have endorsed this goal), their communications are inherently persuasive in nature. Little attention was paid to organizing the anti-smoking movement in this literature, since by the time period from which the selected items were taken the groups had already attained a high degree of organization. (On the other hand, ASH and GASP always welcome the incorporation of new chapters.) Instead, their persuasive communications sought to educate the public on the evil effects they attribute to tobacco smoking and to persuade legislators and regulators to restrict smoking in an encompassing variety of ways, as we will see.

The most commonly employed persuasive tactic, accounting for 11.7 percent of the instances observed, was to present information. The information, of course, exists in a context of advocacy and strongly-held beliefs, so it is one-sided. The indexing term "present information" refers to statement without proof. To these people the facts speak for themselves, just as the steps they advocate to suppress smoking need little justification.

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The next most frequently-used persuasive tactic (8.7 percent) involved "stating the problem" as the anti-smoking groups saw them. The implication is that smoking is often not seen as a problem by people outside these groups.

The tone of the communications from the U.S. groups indicates that they are under considerable stress; they feel themselves to be engaged in a battle to stamp out smoking. Groups under stress close ranks and demand allegiance to the value(s) that unites their members. That is why the persuasive tactics of stressing their uniting value that cigarette smoking is evil (5.6 percent), evoking identification with the group (3.0 percent) and calling for mutual defense of their position ("conflict at boundary," 4.3 percent) were employed.

Scope of Communications

Table 3.1 shows the distribution of concepts used to index the U.S. anti-smoking literature. Over half (56.9 percent) of these concepts deal with aspects of the social order. Significantly, nearly one fifth (19.5 percent) of these concepts deal with the "polity," that is with the government and its legal, legislative and administrative processes. There is much that these groups say about using the government to regulate or halt smoking, judging the variety of concepts they have used. They have nearly as much (13.4 percent) to discuss about the economy, some of it about the tobacco industry itself and some about how smoking affects

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workers. They have also identified quite a variety (14.7 percent) of individuals affected by smoking. Their scope of concern with the environment and physical health (nature - 22.0 percent) and with communications about smoking (culture - 22.1 percent) are about equal, but, as would be expected, there seems to have been a great deal of attention given to how to dissuade people from smoking (10.9 percent).

Table 3.2 shows that just over a third of these terms are used in the process of advocating some action to counteract smoking (33.2 percent), and that nearly as many (30.3 percent) are used to make assertions about smoking. Fewer terms (16.3 percent) have been used to justify their assertions, advocated actions and policies, the reason being that these people accept the two Surgeon General's reports as so conclusive that no further justification for many of the beliefs they hold is required.

Nearly half (45.9 percent) of the terms used to discuss the government and legal processes (see Table 3.3) are also used to advocate actions to be taken by the government to counteract smoking. Further, these groups make many assertions about health (48.4 percent of the health terms) and about the environment (50.0 percent of the environment terms). The health assertions deal with the effects on health attributed to smoking by these groups. The environmental assertions deal with places (such as restaurants and theaters) where they want smoking prohibited and with a variety of agents either used in smoking (as the cigarette) or produced by smoking (such as carbon monoxide).

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7. 20

In the social sphere, there are many ways of asserting the impact of smoking on individuals (37.0 percent) and almost as many actions individuals can take (32.6 percent) against smoking. In the cultural sphere, there is a concentration on asserting that the public ought to be educated about smoking (61.1 percent), which agrees with the advocacy of dissuading communications (32.3 percent). Many kinds of assertions are also made about the use of the media to persuade people to smoke (52.9 percent of the terms about persuasion). Of course these people want to persuade others not to smoke, but they can't use the media to do it. When they won the battle to get cigarette advertising off the tube, they lost the access to the mass electronic media which they had had because of the Federal Communication Commission's equal time doctrine. Currently they are going after indirect advertising through sponsorship of sports events and billboard advertising. These are residual battles. They are left with the more diffuse channels of persuasion--public education and public information programs. Thus their discourse concentrates on such programs, whose success is inherently problematical.

These figures, of course, describe only the scope of the communications produced by the anti-smoking groups. They prepare the way for an examination of the intensity of these communications.

Intensity of Communications

Table 4.1 does show how the frequencies of communications about the subjects of concern to the anti-smoking groups

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were distributed, but the table is most revealing when it is compared with Table 3.1. Such a comparison reveals a shift away from economic factors accompanied by an emphasis on environmental and health considerations. This shift signifies that the opponents of smoking have a great variety of things to say about the tobacco industry, smoking in the workplace and suspension by the media of anti-smoking commercials, but they give very little attention (6.4 percent) to these subjects. The coverage is broad but there is little depth. The need to band together to counteract smoking, to educate the public and to separate the tobacco industry from use of the media also receive little attention, indicating these are not pressing issues. They do place an emphasis on health. In Table 3.1, only 9.9 percent of the terms refer to concepts about health. Table 4.1 shows that these concepts are involved in 14.5 percent of the term uses indexed. Their emphasis on health is clearly linked (17.4 percent) to the impact of smoking on individuals. Average Use per Term figures in Table 4.1 also indicate emphases on the environment (4.1), health (4.7), and individuals (3.8).

Table 4.2 also shows the high proportion of assertions about smoking and health contained in these documents. Both the percentage of term uses to make assertions (37.3 percent) and the high use per term (4.0 percent) indicate this emphasis. In a sense, these assertions also serve as justifications since

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9. 264

they express the conclusions of reasoning processes about smoking. They have not been coded as justifications because the rationale is left out, but among anti-smokers these statements of conclusions are self-justifying.

Table 4.3 permits assessment of the expressive emphasis in anti-smoking groups. Here we see a concern with justification that was averaged out in the marginal figures in the last two tables. Evidently these groups see no need to justify their statements about the need to educate the public or the evils of attempting to persuade people to smoke. Both of these categories contain no justifications in a total term use incidence of 1014. On the other hand, out of a total of 147 references to health matters, 42.9 percent of the statements were justifications--about as many statements as were involved in asserting the evils of smoking (45.6 percent).

This table also shows the strategy for action advocated by these groups: Individuals are urged (51.7 percent) to make assertions about smoking, but much less attention is paid to other forms of individual action (21.0 percent). On the other hand, there is strong emphasis (61.8 percent) on what groups and social institutions, such as schools and hospitals, can do about smoking and a good deal of discussion (50.0 percent) about what the government should do. What should they do? Well, they could control the environment (23.6 percent) or educate the public (40.6 percent) although this does not have much overall priority (8.9 percent of all advocated actions) or dissuade smokers (27.6 percent).

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Table 4 presents the more frequently used persuasive tactics. Although these tactics have been identified by noting distinctions which bring out their variety, they can be aggregated. For example, tactics number 4, 7, 21, 22, and 26 all provide substantive information, though in different ways. Together they account for 32.4 percent of the tactic uses observed--nearly a third. Tactics number 10, 14, 16, 17, 28, and 30, accounting for 23 percent of tactic uses, appeal to the emotions in different ways. Finally, tactics number 5, 11, 15, 25, and 31 appeal to the need that people have to belong to groups--to the social nature of man.

The next series of tables, 5.1 through 5.5, go beyond the overall subject categories to find out what specific topics within these categories concerned the anti-smoking groups. The tables are organized by expressive focus (facet), presenting in order topics which were the subjects of assertions, policies, advocated actions, justifications and themes. In order to enable the reader to relate these topics to the overall categories reported in the previous tables, the categories and subcategories are shown in the second and third columns. The topics are listed in the fourth column under the heading "Term List Title."*

*The indexing terms in these term lists are not reported here because, with one exception, term use frequency is too low to make a significant percentage of the number of terms in each facet. That exception was "Cigarette," which accounted for 38 of the uses in the term list "Agents Under Attack." The last two sets of columns give the number of terms in each listed category, subcategory and term list, respectively, and the corresponding percentages of the next higher tier. Some term list percentages are omitted because the frequencies on which they would be based are too small a portion of the term use frequencies within that facet to be significant.

ASH and GASP (see Table 7.1) have strong interest in influencing governmental action to regulate (and, ultimately, to suppress) smoking (35.1 percent and 33.1 percent respectively). The National Interagency Council on Smoking and Health was set up to see that the policies of the voluntary medical organizations which are its members on smoking and health are implemented in law. This purpose accounts for the 21.8 percent of the content of this group's communications, which is devoted to the political sphere and for the correspondingly low attention to political action in the ACS, AHA and ALA documents.

Indeed, according to ASH's leader, Dr. Banzhaf, the function of the voluntary medical organizations is to translate research results into a form making them useful for political action, while the function of the activist groups is to get the results translated into law. (This distinction neatly ignores NICSH.) In any case, whatever the relative roles of ASH, GASP and NICSH, it is clear from this table that these organizations are concerned with legislation, litigation and regulation which restricts or prohibits smoking while the three voluntary medical organizations are concerned with research justifying implementation. This orientation toward justifying the control of smoking is indicated by the high concentration of the content of these groups' communications on environment, health and the individual.

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A large part of the communications content of the American Cancer Society analyzed here consists of a ten-year action program. If ACS were really interested in doing something about cancer attributed to smoking, considerable attention in this program ought to be given to health and dissuasion, as well as to the environment (which includes "Agents under attack"). The first set of rows in Table 7.1 shows a mild interest (16.3 percent) in the environment and a strong interest in individuals (23.3 percent). There is very little interest in dissuasion (7.5 percent). By contrast, the congressional testimony of the American Heart Association exhibits a strong interest in individuals (27.4 percent) coupled with an even higher concern with health (29.5 percent) and strong interest in dissuasion (17.9 percent); the AHA's concern with dissuasion is a bit stronger than that found in the NICSH documents (15.4 percent) which review that group's last decade and discuss prospects for further action. Both AHA and NICSH are about twice as concerned with dissuasion as ACS, a surprising result in view of ACS's intensive public communication campaign.

Table 7.2, however, shows that the American Cancer Society does advocate action against smoking in a third of its statements (31.4 percent), even though the analysis of Table 7.1 suggests that this advocacy gives an appearance of action for which there is little substance. Typically, the

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ACS makes many assertions (39.7 percent), this category being the means of coding results attributing a host of evil consequences to smoking. However, the American Heart Association in its Congressional testimony, makes proportionally more assertions (52.6 percent) and, of course, the American Lung Association's pamphlet designed to persuade people to quit smoking makes the most assertions of all (67.9 percent). By contrast, ASH and GASP make proportionally fewer assertions (22.5 percent and 21.3 percent).*

Among the activist groups it appears from this literature that ASH claims to be the more active. Over half (52.3 percent) of the content of ASH's communications advocate actions against smoking while GASP spends only 33.1 percent of its discourse advocating action. ASH has testified before congress and regulatory commissions for restrictions on smoking, but its head is a lawyer who also teaches in a Washington, D.C. school of law. His interest is in litigation and many of the actions he advocates involve court cases. On the other hand, NIOSH, a caste-ist professional organization, has a much stronger interest in lobbying. These different interests are reflected in the low attention (5.4 percent) which ASH gives to policy and the relatively high interest (17.7 percent) which NIOSH has in policy.

*The reason is that ASH and GASP concentrate on political action to suppress smoking while the voluntary medical organizations (ACS, AHA and ALA) concentrate on translating research results into justifications for smoking control.

Table 1

14. 269

Quantity of U.S. Antismoking Group Communications in Sample

Group			Data			Indices	
Type	Code	IO	# Items	# Units	# Term Uses	Units/Item	Term Uses/Unit
Luntary	II.A	ACS	10	72	239	7.2	3.3
Local	II.B	AHA	1	23	95	23	4.1
19.	II.C	ALA	6	45	134	7.5	3.0
broads	II.C	NICSH	6	88	266	14.7	3.0
29.	II.A	ASH	4	63	111	15.8	1.8
Org's	II.B	BASP	10	92	169	9.2	1.8
			42	383	1014		

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Table 3.1

15. 270

How the Terms Indexing the Concepts used by the U.S. Antismoking Groups as a whole fit into the Overall Subject Categories

Overall Subject Categories	Conceptualization of Concerns (Number of terms within overall subject categories)	
	Data	Indices
	No. of Terms in Category	% of all Terms
Nature	19	22.0
Environment	38	12.1
Health	31	9.9
Society	175	55.9
Individuals	46	14.7
Groups	26	8.3
Economy	42	13.4
Polity	2	19.5
Culture	9	2.1
Public Ed.	18	5.8
Persuasion	17	5.4
Dissuasion	34	10.9
Total	313	100.0

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Table 3.2
How the Terms Indexing the Concepts used by the U.S. Antismoking Groups as a whole fit into the overall Expression Categories 16. 271

Expressive Focus (Facet)	Expressions (Terms classified in facets)	
	No.	%
Theme	24	7.7
Assertion	95	30.3
Advocated Action	104	33.2
Justification	51	16.3
Policy	39	12.5
Total	313	100

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Table 3.3

17. 272

How the Indexed Concepts used by the U.S. Antismoking Groups
as a whole Expressed their Concerns

Concerns (No. of terms within subject categories)	# %	Expressions (No. of terms within facets)					Σ
		Theme	Assertion	Advocated Action	Justification	Policy	
Nature	#		34	12	16	5	9
	%	2.9	49.3	17.4	23.2	7.2	22.2
Environment	#		17				8
	%		51.0	16.3	3.2	7.9	12.1
Health	#		15				9.9
	%						
Society	#		1			13	13
	%		2.9			15.1	53.1
Individuals	#		7			6	13
	%		17.0	3.6	1.9	13.0	14.7
Groups	#						
	%						8.3
Economy	#		10				10
	%		3.2	20.1	1.8	19.0	13.1
Polity	#						
	%						
Culture	#		20				9
	%		9.0	37.7	1.7	15.9	12.1
Public Ed.	#					3	3
	%					16.7	
Persuasion	#						
	%	5.9		3.5		17.6	14.7
Dissuasion	#						
	%		6.5	32.3		11.7	10.7
Σ			95	30.3		4	13.1

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18. 273

Table 4

THE MORE FREQUENTLY USED PERSUASIVE TACTICS

<u>Tactic number</u>	<u>Tactic name</u>	<u>Times used</u>	<u>% of all uses</u>
2	Appeal to common sense	8	3.5
4	Present evidence	17	7.4
5	Fear appeal	10	4.3
7	Present information	27	11.7
10	Prestigious source (an organization)	13	5.6
11	Uniting value	13	5.6
14	Charismatic effect	6	2.3
15	Identification with group	7	3.0
16	Conflict at boundary	10	4.3
17	Endorsement	13	5.6
21	States the problem	20	8.7
22	Offers solution	6	2.3
25	Mobilize willpower	6	2.3
26	States THE TRUTH	6	2.3
28	Authoritative source (a person)	7	3.0
30	Bandwaggon effect	5	2.2
31	Success succeeds	6	2.3
(N = 231)		Totals	76.1%

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Table 4.1
 What Concerned the U.S. Antismoking Groups As a Whole

Overall Subject Categories	Concerns (Term uses within overall subject categories)			
	Data		Indices	
	No. Terms in Category	Total Term Use in Category	Average Use per Term	% of all Term Uses
Nature	69	304	4.4	30.0
Environment	28	157	4.1	15.4
Health	21	147	4.7	14.5
Society	175	493	2.8	25.0
Individuals	46	176	3.8	17.4
Groups	23	68	2.6	6.7
Economy	42	111	1.5	6.4
Polity	21	154	3.0	15.1
Culture	69	117	3.1	11.4
Public Ed.	18	47	2.6	6.3
Persuasion	17	48	2.8	4.7
Dissuasion	34	111	3.1	10.4
Total	313	1,314	3.0	100.0

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Table 4.2

20. 275

How the U.S. Antismoking Groups as a Whole Expressed
them Overall Concerns

Expressive Focus (Facet)	Expressions (Term uses within Facets)			
	Data		Indices	
	No. Terms in Facet	Total Term Use in Facet	Average Use per Term	% of all Term Uses
Theme	24	119	5.0	11.8
Assertion	95	378	4.0	37.3
Advocated Action	104	220	2.8	27.6
Justification	51	129	2.5	12.7
Policy	39	98	2.5	9.7
Total	313	1044	3.3	100

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Table 4.3

21. 276

How Categorical Concerns of the U.S. Antismoking Groups as a whole were Expressed

Concerns (Term uses within subject categories)	#	Expressions (Term uses by groups within facets)					Σ
		Theme	Assertion	Advocated Action	Justification	Policy	
Nature	#	168	41	69	11		329
	%	4.7	55.3	13.5	22.7	3.6	32.2
Environment	#	6	37	6	7		157
	%	3.8	64.3	23.6	3.8	4.5	15.1
Health	#	7	67	4	63	4	142
	%	5.1	45.6	2.7	2.1	2.7	14.1
Society	#	77	143	177	77	48	522
	%	13.6	30	38.1	13.6	9.7	25.1
Individuals	#	71	57	7	14		149
	%	1.2	17.7	2.0	4.0	7.0	23.4
Groups	#	12	42	7	1		62
	%	7.4	17.0	6.3	0.3	1.5	25.5
Economy	#	7	17	17	11	3	55
	%	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2	5.0
Polity	#	22	92		22		136
	%	3.7	12.5	50.0	6.0	9	77.3
Culture	#	27	57	61	22	24	191
	%	4	9	1	10.9	12.3	37.5
Public Ed.	#						
	%						
Persuasion	#	4	52.1				56.1
	%	5.3	52.1				57.4
Discussion	#						
	%						
Σ		119	378	6	93	9.7	596

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Table 5.1
Distribution of Assertions

~~22~~
N = 378 277

Code	Subject Classification			Number in:			Percent of:		
	Category	Subcategory	Term List Title	Category	Subcategory	Term List	Facet	Category	Subcategory
.0	Nature			168			44.4		
.0.2			Biomedical -- health			67			34.7
.0.3			Agents under attack			90			53.6
.1.1			Environment -- smoke in			9			*
.1.2			Environment -- impacts on			2			*
.0	Society			143			37.8		
.1		The individual			91		63.6		
.1.1			Smokers			55			61.4
.1.2			Smoking patterns			30			33.0
.1.3			Nonsmokers			5			*
.1.4			Exsmokers			1			*
.2		Social groups & institutions			12		8.4		
.2.1			Societal costs -- social			3			*
.2.2			Social change			9			7.0
.3		Economic institutions			17		12.0		
.3.1			Sales promotion practices			3			*
.3.2			Employment			1			*
.3.3			Distribution			2			*
.3.5			Tobacco industry			10			-
.3.9			Societal costs -- Economic			1			*
.4		Political institutions			23		16.1		
.4.1			Rights			12			52.2
.4.2			Law			3			*
.4.3			Scope			5			*
.4.4			Taxation			3			*
.0	Culture			67			17.7		
		Public education			17				
.2		Persuasion			25				
.3		Dissuasion			25				

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Table 5.2
Distribution of Policies

N = 98
28 278

Code	Subject Classification			Number in:			Percent of:		
	Category	Subcategory	Term List	Cate- gory	Sub- cate- gory	Term List	Facet	Cate- gory	Sub- cate- gory
0	Nature			11			11.2		
1		Environment			7			*	
2		Biomedical-- health			4			*	
2.1			Protect non- smokers health			3			*
0	Society			48			49.0		
1		The individual			14			27.7	
1.1			Reduce smoking			6			40.2
1.2			Eliminate smoking			2			-
2		Social groups & institutions			1			2.1	
3		Economic institutions			13			27.7	
3.1			Tobacco industry			13			100
4		Political institutions			20			43.6	
0	Culture			39			40.0		
1			Public education		11			28.2	
2			Persuasion		13			33.3	
3			Dissuasion		15			37.5	

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Table 5.3
Distribution of Advocated Actions +

290
N = 272

24
279

Code	Subject Classification			Number in:			Percent of:		
	Category	Subcategory	Term List Title	Cate-gory	Sub-cate-gory	Term List	Facet	Cate-gory	Sub-cate-gory
2.0	Nature			41			14.1		
2.0.1			Environment --		37			90.2	
2.0.2			Restrict in		4			*	
2.0.2			Biomedical--						
2.0.2			health						
2.0	Society			188			64.8		
2.1		The individual			37			19.7	
2.1.1			Mobilize			12			32.4
2.1.2			Restrict & Control			13			35.1
2.1.3			Quit			12			32.4
2.2		Social institutions			42			22.3	
2.2.2			Organize joint- ASG efforts			12			28.6
2.2.8			Set goals & objectives			17			40.5
2.3		Economic institutions			17			9.0	
2.4		Political institutions			92			42.9	
2.4.1			Legislative process			41			44.6
2.4.2			Legal process			7			*
2.4.3			Administrative process			9			*
2.4.4			Implementation			18			19.8
2.4.5			Tax			7			*
3.0	Culture			61			21.0		
3.1		Public education			23			37.7	
3.1.2			Education programs			9			*
3.1.3			Research			14	(4.8)	(23.0)	66.9
3.2		Persuasion			9			14.8	
3.3		Dissuasion			27			47.5	

+ low frequency
* Not in list

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Table 5.4
Distribution of Justifications

129 25.380
N = 68

Code	Subject Classification			Number in:			Percent of:		
	Category	Subcategory	Term List Title	Cate-gory	Sub-cate-gory	Term List	Facet	Cate-gory	Sub-cate-gory
.0	Nature			69			53.5		
.2		Biomedical -- health			63			91.3	
.2.1			The broad justifications			26			*
.2.2			Impacts on health			25			*
.0	Society			37			28.7		
.1		The individual			7			*	
.1.1			Smokers			3			*
.1.2			About quitting			4			*
.2		Social groups & institutions			8			*	
.3		Economic institutions			11			*	
.4		Political institutions			11			*	
.0	Culture			23			17.8		

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* Not significant

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Table 7.1
Concerns of the U.S. Antismoking Groups

287 282

Group	Concerns (Term uses by groups within overall subject categories)									
	#	Nature		Society				Culture		
		Environ- ment	Health	Indiv. duals	groups	Econ- omy	Polity	Public Educa- tion	Persu- asion	Dissas- sion
ACS (T=239)	#	39	33	57	16	20	22	21	13	12
	%	16.3	13.8	23.8	6.7	8.4	9.2	8.8	5.4	7.5
AKA (T=95)	#	11	28	26	2	0	3	2	0	7
	%	11.6	29.5	27.4	2.1	0	3.2	8.4	0	17.7
ALA (T=134)	#	34	40	25	7	0	0	4	4	7
	%	25.4	34.3	18.7	5.2	0	4.5	3.0	3.0	6.0
NCSH (T=266)	#	33	23	39	17	17	58	23	15	4
	%	12.4	8.6	14.7	6.4	6.4	21.8	8.6	5.6	1.5
ASH (T=111)	#	17	6	12	7	4	39	2	10	0
	%	15.3	5.4	10.8	6.3	3.6	35.1	1.8	14.4	7.2
CASP (T=169)	#	23	11	17	19	24	56	6	0	0
	%	13.6	6.5	10.1	11.2	14.1	33.1	3.6	0	0

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Table 7.2

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How Each U.S. Antismoking Group Expressed its Concerns

Group	Expression (Term uses by groups within facets)				
	#	Theme	Assertion	Advocated Action	Justification Policy
ACS (=239)	#	95	25	19	25
	%	39.7	31.4	7.7	10.5
HA (=75)	#	5	9	19	10
	%	6.7	12.0	25.3	13.3
LA (=34)	#	21	2	26	2
	%	62.0	6.0	76.5	6.0
CSH (=66)	#	1	1	35	47
	%	1.5	1.5	53.0	71.2
SH (=11)	#	5	1	12	6
	%	45.5	9.1	109.1	54.5
ASP (=67)	#	5	5	27	7
	%	7.5	7.5	40.3	10.4

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